TRIUMPH OF FAITH

Contributions of the Church to American Life, 1865-1900

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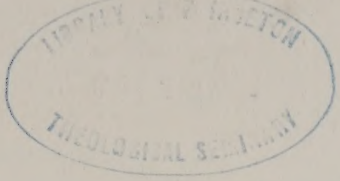

TRIUMPH OF FAITH:

Contributions of the Church to American Life, 1865-1900

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By

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NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE WILLIAM BYRD PRESS, INC.
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Distributed by MAILING SERVICES, INC.
1524 Brook Road, Richmond, Va.

Preface

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THE generation following the Civil War in the United States was one beset by trying problems in both the intellectual and social spheres. The focusing of attention on the evolutionary hypothesis and Biblical Criticism created bitter tensions and disturbed or even upset for many the ideological foundations of their faith. At the same time the rapid urbanization of the nation led to the accentuation of class distinctions and to the decline of old-fashioned neighborliness. Thus, a crisis was created which has prompted Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. to refer to the quarter century from 1875 to 1900 as "A Critical Period in American Religion."[1] Professor Henry S. Commager of Columbia University, moreover, has looked upon the years around 1890 as an ideological watershed dividing the years of certainty from those of doubt and disillusionment in America.[2]

In the present study the author does not venture into an analysis of the significant intellectual struggles which led to substantial changes in American religious life. He has dealt with those crucial adjustments in another volume.[3] In the work here presented he does analyze the predicament of the highly intellectual Henry Adams, whose basic problems were significant for his whole generation, and an effort is made to suggest the answer of Church-Going America of the late nineteenth century to these basic problems. In so doing he realizes fully that the problems confronted by Adams have persisted, and Adams' own approach, if not his answer, bears some similarity to that suggested in the writings of Albert Camus, Nobel Prize win-

[1] *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* LXIV (1932), 523-37.
[2] *The American Mind* (New Haven, 1950).
[3] F. P. Weisenburger, *Ordeal of Faith: The Crisis of Church-Going America, 1865-1900* (New York, 1959). See pages 117-141 for the rise of the Social Gospel, a discussion not repeated in this volume.

ner in Literature for 1957. Yet, the answers of Adams and of Camus have not been, in general, those of Church-Going America.

The present writer seeks not to *advocate* but to *report* sympathetically the point of view of churchmen and churchwomen of the late nineteenth century, as they expressed a faith which gave vital meaning to their lives and as they found a comradeship of faith in vital fellowships. From these fellowships came further inspiration for gracious living, moral leadership, charitable endeavors, and varied works of mercy. Hundreds of biographies, monographs, contemporary periodicals and other works have been consulted to ascertain the effect of the life of the Church on many representative personalities. Here, statistical data has been minimized, for no method as yet has been ascertained for evaluating the relative importance of different individuals. By concluding the study with the beginning of the twentieth century, it is believed that a more objective perspective has been attained, and the difficulty of dealing with personalities now living has been avoided.

Some scholars who properly devote their attention to the intensive study of a very narrow segment of the American past may note that in this work there has been no exhaustive study of the denominational press. In view of the multiplicity of American denominations this would be an impossible task. Much of this coverage, moreover, has been performed in numerous monographs which have been utilized in this volume. The intention of the present author has been to examine carefully general periodicals to ascertain accurately basic trends and then to proceed to investigate these. The work is, therefore, a summary of the findings of historical scholarship up to the present time with the hope that some new insights and some new inspiration for further scholarly work have been provided.

All of the positive contributions of the churches during even one generation cannot be presented in a volume of moderate length. Accordingly, in this work no attempt has been made to explore carefully the contributions of organized religion to home and foreign missions, journalism, literature, science, and the

arts. Considerable attention has been given to movements to conserve character by temperance, stabilized family life, anti-gambling efforts, and the stimulation of honesty in personal and corporate life. On the other hand, the story of the impetus furnished by the churches for the less individualistic problems of reform such as woman suffrage, prison reform, Negro rights, and the peace movement has been left for treatment elsewhere.

Thus, the author hopes that his presentation, within the somewhat limited scope of the work, may illuminate for some readers what the rather cynical Henry Adams meant when he confessed that he believed that, without the Church, the standards of the country would have been those of "tradesmen and Apaches."[4] For a somewhat disillusioned twentieth century generation, it may, moreover, help to recapture an understanding of that feeling which prompted Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. to write that there was in a corner of his heart a plant called reverence, which needed to be watered about once a week, and for whose nourishment the Church was a necessary medium.[5]

To the many helpful friends, especially librarians and colleagues, who have given encouragement in the research and writing involved in the production of this work, the author expresses his sincere thanks. Particularly to Professors Harold J. Grimm, Henry H. Simms, Henry R. Spencer, and Warner F. Woodring he acknowledges deep indebtedness. Professor Woodring read the entire manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions, which reflected his extraordinary knowledge of the literature and history of the Western World.

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[4] Henry Adams, *Letters to a Niece, with a Niece's Memories,* by Mabel La Farge (Boston, 1920), 115-116.

[5] John T. Morse, Jr., *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes,* (2 vols., Boston, 1896), I, 280.

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PART 1

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Introduction

CHAPTER I

Henry Adams and Church-Going America

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ON a Sunday morning, December 6, 1885, Henry Adams, distinguished member of one of the most eminent families in American history, left his home on Lafayette Square in the capital city of the United States for a customary walk. In numerous respects he was a man to be envied. His father had been United States minister to Great Britain, and his grandfather and great-grandfather had been Presidents of the United States. Wealth, education, breeding,—all had come to him in abundant measure. For seven years he had taught at Harvard where he had known intimately some of the intellectual leaders of the time and had instructed many who were destined to be distinguished scholars of the oncoming generation.[1] Travel, furthermore, was to him a commonplace experience. In sheer intellectual power, moreover, he was a brilliant member of a gifted line.

His home was the gathering place for the elite of social grace and charm, intellectuality and learning, wit and brilliancy.[2] On that very Sunday morning he was looking forward within a month to the occupancy of a new home (in the emotional security of the old neighborhood), adjacent to one being erected by close friends, Mr. and Mrs. John Hay.[3] Designed by the eminent architect, Henry H. Richardson, the new residence

[1] An indispensable study of Adams during these years is Ernest Samuels, *Henry Adams: The Middle Years* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); Harold D. Cater, ed., *Henry Adams and His Friends* (Boston, 1947), xl-xliii.

[2] *Ibid.*, xliii-xliv.

[3] James Truslow Adams, *The Adams Family* (N. Y. 1930), 327 f.

would seemingly add further to the charms of Adams's cherished wife, who was frank, gay, and of marked perception and sensitivity. Within a severely limited circle she appeared as a "bright, intrepid spirit," of keen intellect, social charm, and a "lofty scorn of all that was mean."[4] Thus, her wit and her husband's intellectual brilliance had made them the key figures in the most noted *salon* that the United States has probably ever known.

But tragedy awaited Adams upon his return from his morning exercise. He found his wife in a state of unconsciousness from which she never emerged. Ultimately it became known that she had taken poisonous salts such as she customarily used to develop her photographic plates.[5]

Mrs. Adams was in the prime of life—forty-two years of age. Her health, however, was not of the best; her beloved father, to whom she had been deeply devoted, had died within the year; and her husband had been deeply disappointed that she had borne him no children. Hence, behind the scintillating facade of social and intellectual distinction, elements of dark despondency had been present, though hidden from the world.

Perhaps involved was an undiagnosed hereditary factor derived from an extremely sensitive mother.[6] Perhaps, too, there was at the time an exaggeration of the melancholia which Mrs. Adams had previously experienced when separated from an unusually intimate and closely knit family. Certainly, whatever the basic difficulty, family characteristics were involved, for two years later her sister, Ellen (Mrs. Ephraim W. Gurney), died a suicide, and thereafter a favorite brother, Edward W. Hooper, suffered a long and trying nervous illness.[7]

At any rate, the shattering (by the father's death) of unusually sympathetic ties at a time of life when many women experience almost unconquerable emotional stress, was a loss ap-

[4] Letter of John Hay to Henry Adams, quoted in *Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams*, ed. by Ward Thoron (Boston, 1936), after title page.

[5] Katharine Simonds, "The Tragedy of Mrs. Henry Adams," *The New England Quarterly Review*, IX (Dec. 1936), 577.

[6] Elizabeth Stevenson, *Henry Adams* (N. Y., 1955), 104.

[7] *Ibid.*, 110, 205; Cater, ed., *op. cit.*, 179 and note.

parently too great to be endured. Yet, in outwardly similar circumstances great numbers of women had faced frustration and loss with courage, if not always with equanimity. It is significant that for Mrs. Adams, wealth, intellect, and cultivation had not brought redeeming solace in her personal trials.

Both Adams and his wife were descendants of long lines of New England Puritans. Such forebears had found direction and consolation in life's vicissitudes in the conviction that their task in life was to strive to do the will of God in their own particular corner of His world.[8]

Adams, however, although his heart seemed to tell him otherwise, was coming intellectually to regard the world as a "supersensual chaos." Later—when confirmed pessimism had overtaken him—he claimed to be troubled by the disappearance of religion from his life and that of his brothers and sisters. All, according to his account, had been taught to pray, to read the Bible, to go to church twice on Sunday. Yet, all of them had thrown off the mild discipline of the Church as soon as they could and had never again attended religious services.[9] Clearly, in her mood of dejection, Mrs. Adams had been unable to turn to her husband for religious faith and insight.[10]

Although Adams was a deep-dyed individualist, one senses in his writings that his loss of faith was in some degree due to a partial failure of institutionalized religion. He had deep respect for the institutions of the family, the profession of law, and the Church, all of which had been intimately associated with the vitality and strength of his forebears. As a young man at Harvard, he had given the Class Day oration in June 1858, showing himself as one who was deeply troubled about the evils of the modern world. At that time, he found little promise in man's reason or in science, but he expressed his faith in the supremacy

[8] Edwin D. Mead, "The Meaning of Massachusetts," *The New England Quarterly*, III (Jan. 1930), 29.

[9] *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston, 1918), 34-5; Timothy P. Donovan, *Henry Adams and Brooks Adams: The Education of Two American Historians* (Norman, Okla., 1961), 47, 58-65, 123-124, 76-81.

[10] Simonds, *loc. cit.*, 577. Samuels in *Henry Adams: The Middle Years*, 276-80, emphasizes that Mrs. Adams's agnosticism was firmly established before their marriage.

of the moral order.[11] Later, in his famous *History of the United States* (9 volumes, 1889-1891), he threw some light on the Church in New England in the years before the Adamses of his generation had departed from it.

His forebears had found inspiration and guidance in a Church, where "in New England the old intellectual preeminence, which once marked the Congregational Church" had everywhere been evident.[12] Preachers had held no illusions about human nature, hence had stressed the infinite wrath rather than the infinite love of God, often admitting "that their preaching sometimes leaned to severity." Adams elaborated that these men would have "been false to their charge and undeserving of their high character" had they neglected the basic doctrine that only by being born again would men see God. He further expressed the view:

> Many intellectual efforts had been made by many ages of men to escape the logic of this doctrine, but without success. The dogma and its consequences could not be abandoned without abandoning the Church.[13]

As a protest against the rigors of Calvinism and partly, as they thought, to present "a more comprehensible view of Christ's divine character," moderate Unitarians had begun to manifest their viewpoints, especially after 1800. Soon, particularly in the Boston area, Unitarians were supposed to represent the "best and purest in religious, literary, and artistic feeling."[14] At first, William Ellery Channing and others repelled the idea that they were radicals or even innovators, and insisted that they were protesting against "a barbarous phraseology" in the old creeds.[15]

Here, Adams pays full respect to Calvinistic doctrine, as he terms it a "venerable creed, the painful outcome of the closest and most strenuous reasoning known in the Christian world."[16]

[11] Ernest Samuels, *The Young Henry Adams* (Cambridge, 1948), 48-50.
[12] *History*, Book IX, p. 175.
[13] *Ibid.*, 176. In Elsie Venner (1861), Oliver Wendell Holmes depicts something of the intellectual travail of the New England mind.
[14] *Ibid.*, 177.
[15] *Ibid.*, 179.
[16] *Ibid.*, 180.

He further states that the Unitarians "scarcely attempted to make the infinite more intelligible to the finite by any new phraseology," but avowed as an asset "a dislike of dogma." Under challenge from the orthodox, Channing, however, was led to affirm that Unitarians regarded dogma as unnecessary to salvation, relying on the "hope" that the Christian disciple had received "all the truth which is necessary to his salvation." Adams commented: "The hope might help to soothe anxiety and distress, but it defied conclusions reached by the most anxious and often renewed labors of churchmen for eighteen hundred years. Something more than a hope was necessary as the foundation of a faith."[17]

After 1819, Unitarianism lost its earlier caution. According to Adams, so strong "was the reaction against old dogmas that for thirty years society seemed less likely to resume the ancient faith in the Christian Trinity than to establish a new Trinity, in which a deified humanity should have place." Under Channing and his associates, "human nature was adorned with virtues hardly suspected before, and with hopes of perfection on earth altogether strange to theology." Now, the sinfulness of man was ignored, as the worth of man became a source of pride and joy.[18]

Thus, "in contrast with old stringency of thought, the religious activities of the epoch showed warmth of emotion." West of the Alleghenies, arose the Campbellites, who along with Unitarians and Universalists seemed to argue "that the intellectual difficulties in their paths must be unessential because they were insuperable."[19]

Adams further commented that wild as was the impulse "to escape the rigor of bonds and relax the severity of thought, organizations so deeply founded as the old churches were not capable of destruction." Yale College and most of the parishes remained true to the Congregational Church, as it resisted "with force of character and reasoning, the looseness of doctrine

[17] *Ibid.*, 181-182.
[18] *Ibid.*, 182-3.
[19] *Ibid.*, 183-186.

and vagueness of thought which marked the time."[20] Yet, the spirit of the times fed the demand for more popular doctrine, and with the changing order perhaps "the noblest victim" was the "unity of the New England Church."[21]

Nevertheless, according to Adams, the Church of his Puritan forebears rested "in the conviction that every divergence from the great highways of religious thought must be temporary." Yet, the Unitarians had carried with them much of the highest social and intellectual leadership of New England.[22] Furthermore, the Christian witness in Adams's native New England was permanently to be fragmented by the existence of numerous denominational churches rather than, as in the olden days, by the testimony to the community of the Church of Christ, Congregational.

Adams tells us that nature had given him a character that in any previous century would have led him into the Church, for he inherited a love of dogma and a rebellious spirit against change. Steeped in Puritan moral standards he could not be convinced "that utilitarian morality was good enough for him, as it was for the graceless."[23]

Much of Unitarianism at this time was moving in the direction of transcendental idealism, and Adams tells us that his family had little or no affinity with the "eccentric offshoots" of the pulpit.[24] Thus, Adams's own cousin, Rev. Octavius Frothingham, distressed members of the family by avowing a "scepticism that seemed to solve no old problems and to raise many new ones."[25]

Under these circumstances for Adams in youth "the religious instinct had vanished, and could not be revived, although one made in later life many efforts to recover it." Adams, however, did not look upon this as a triumph, but rather as an obvious loss, since he was deprived of "the most powerful emotion of

[20] *Ibid.*, 186.
[21] *Ibid.*, 187.
[22] *Ibid.*, 183.
[23] *Education of H. Adams*, 26.
[24] *Ibid.*, 27.
[25] *Ibid.*, 15.

man, next to the sexual." Adams suggests the basis for this loss was the essentially ethical rather than religious nature of Unitarian thought. He relates that the Unitarian clergy—of exemplary character—insisted on no doctrine and ignored difficulties as they deemed that "all the problems of the Universe" had been solved so thoroughly that no one "need be anxious about past or future."[26]

A second aspect of the tragedy of Mrs. Adams—in addition to the disappearance of religious faith—was the fact that she, not unlike her husband, had become socially segregated. She had been reared in an aristocracy of wealth and sensitivity, and her association with her husband had brought her into a circle even further limited by intellectual barriers. Thus, her isolation from the saving "common touch" had become almost complete, for her sophisticated group seemed to look down with an attitude approaching scorn on practically all human endeavor.[27]

Perhaps her isolation was the inevitable concomitant of the cultivation and distinction—artificial in many respects—which fortune (or fate) had brought to her. At any rate, the isolation was very real. Thus, she could describe the unaffected vivacity of Lucy Webb Hayes, when the latter's husband was President, by a reference to her "smiling as a basket of chips." To Mrs. Adams, Lucy Hayes was "a kind, simple-minded woman" with a touch of "the country school-mistress about her," though one without any "nonsense or vulgarity."[28] An Ohio woman, the guest of Mrs. Hayes, was referred to as looking "like a powder puff," with the further observation that "fortunately flour is cheap west of the Alleghanies," else fathers and husbands there would be impoverished.[29] A tea at the home of the able former Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, was deemed a "somewhat ghastly" affair. Mrs. Adams related that the guests included "Calvinist divines sleek and smug with their wives,

[26] *Ibid.*, 34.

[27] Simonds, *loc. cit.*, 572. Samuels, in *Henry Adams: The Middle Years*, 20, agrees that the Adams circle had no lack of "generous impulses, warm affection, and sympathy," but states that these "were lavished upon the elect and withheld on principle as well as preference from the outsider."

[28] *Letters*, ed. by Ward Thoron, 260.

[29] *Ibid.*, 268.

Indiana friends of the hostess, newspaper feminine correspondents," the last mentioned being those whom she had been carefully dodging for "six winters."[30] Other letters of Mrs. Adams both from Washington and from Europe are characterized by caustic comments regarding many different people. In all justice it may be said that she probably was endeavoring to inject spice and tartness for the amusement of a sophisticated father. Yet, a twentieth century woman of the world, upon reading the letters, termed them "both acid and biting,"[31] and one wonders whether the letters do not reveal the author as one possessing a callousness bordering on the ruthless where there might have been broad tolerance and sympathetic benevolence.

Seemingly a third factor in the tragedy of the Adamses was that they came from families that had been active in practical affairs, and that they had come to be primarily observers and critics rather than leaders in the active life of their generation.[32] In a sense, this situation was far from tragic, for it enabled Adams to contribute much to the intellectual stimulation of American thought. Yet, at times he seems to have suffered definite frustration as a result.[33]

A noted biographer has commented that "it was easier to sit back and proclaim life unworthy of Henry Adams than it was to lean forward with the whole soul in a passionate, if inadequate, effort to make Henry Adams worthy of life."[34] It has been suggested that Adams's ample material means effectively deprived him of a basic incentive in life. At any rate, here was a man whom apparently "nature intended to be a great diplomat" but whose "false pride, false modesty, self-depreciation" proved a

[30] *Ibid.*, 430.

[31] Suzanne La Follette in *New Republic,* Vol. 89 (Dec. 30, 1936), 278.

[32] *Education of Henry Adams, passim.*

[33] Observation made to the present author by the late Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, a younger contemporary of Adams. James Truslow Adams commented that, with Henry Adams's inheritance, "almost any achievement below the grade of the very highest, and that in the line of power . . . would come to seem very much like sniping at bull frogs in Walden Pond" to this descendant of fighters in major areas. *Henry Adams* (N. Y., 1933), 32. Donovan, *op. cit.,* 162 and note, warns against "too facile and superficial an explanation."

[34] Gamaliel Bradford, *American Portraits* (Boston, 1922), 56. Adams obviously had at least an intellectual appreciation of the duty of action, as shown in his *Democracy.*

road block to such personal achievement. A factor in the erection of this "road block" was, of course, the deep disgust with politics generated by Adams's viewing at close range "the monstrous corruption" of the Grant Administration.[35]

The tragic elements in the lives of the Henry Adamses were, in an exaggerated degree, an indication of the plight of their generation. Religious faith in America encountered grave intellectual difficulties in the decades when Darwin's *Origin of Species* first attracted widespread attention.[36] Simultaneously, the increasing social and economic stratification of American society imperilled the traditional mutual concern and neighborliness which had been part of the American heritage and which had been widely mediated through the churches.

To Adams the demands of the heart and of the mind came to seem incompatible. To him both religion and science became, in a sense, illusions. Accordingly, with Stoic firmness he endeavored to exhibit "the tragic valor possible to man as he found it void of all certain promise but his own."[37]

"Tragic valor" might be a distinguished hallmark of highly developed intellectualism linked to heroic individualism, but for many Americans a more adequate answer to Life's perplexities was to be found in a more balanced combination of the resources of mind, heart, and will, and a merging of a naturally egoistic individualism in the corporate life of Church and community. A favorite niece of Adams relates that he came to believe that the Church has been the source of "all the thought or imagination" that ever existed, and that all the world would be left to "tradesmen and Apaches" without it.[38] She also tells

[35] *The Nation,* Vol. 107 (Oct. 12, 1918), 403; Ferdinand Schevill, *Six Historians* (Chicago, 1956), 158.

[36] Henry S. Commager, in "Henry Adams," an essay in W. T. Hutchinson, ed. *The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography* (Chicago, 1937), says: "Adams was right, of course, in generalizing his own tragedy. . . . The old faiths were gone. . . . Pragmatism was a sorry substitute for faith. . . ." (p. 204). See also Henry S. Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven, 1950) and Donovan, *op. cit.,* 52-58.

[37] Robert A. Hume, *Runaway Star: An Appreciation of Henry Adams* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1951), 224; Interpretation by Hume in *ibid.,* 228; see also William H. Jordy, *Henry Adams: Scientific Historian* (New Haven, 1952), *passim.*

[38] Henry Adams, *Letters to a Niece, With a Niece's Memories* by Mabel La Farge (Boston, 1920), letter of Sept. 26, 1907, pp. 115-116.

us that during his last years, in the evenings before retiring he would often ask for a song to the Virgin Mary, and "would listen intently, as if joining in the song or *prayer* himself."

Adams apparently found the Stoic philosophy theoretically superior to all others but less than adequate for personal solace and inspiration. In regard to such matters, Adams's biographers have had almost insuperable difficulties, for Adams "loved parable, paradox and outrageous imagery. . . . His biographer can seldom take him literally, yet when to exaggerate, when to minimize, and when to read between the lines in evaluating his statements is never clear."[39]

Yet, Adams seemed to have a deep personal need, evidenced in his comments to another distinguished scholar, Henry Osborn Taylor, who was to enjoy a notable reputation as the author of *Ancient Ideals* (1896); The *Medieval Mind* (1911); and *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century* (1920). Adams wrote that he was "in near peril of turning Christian, and rolling in the mud in an agony of human mortification. All these other fellows did it—why not I?"[40]

The distinguished medievalist to whom Henry Adams was writing was one who believed that Adams had "perhaps overconsidered the matter of his thought" and was actually "scarcely as disillusioned" as he sought to think himself.[41] This learned scholar personally had found "in the love of God and the divine purpose . . . the supreme integrating power in an individual life," giving to it "continuity" and its own reward in the bringing of "blessedness."[42] As the years passed, he affirmed: ". . . Brought up in current beliefs, I soon fell out with them. I did not shift to unbelief but turned to more generalized modes of thought and feeling. I have remained trustful, acceptant of a divine purpose. . . ."[43]

Why could not Adams find the "blessedness" which had come

[39] John A. Garraty, review of Elizabeth Stevenson, *Henry Adams,* in *South Atlantic Quarterly,* LV (July 1956), 378-81.
[40] Letter of Feb. 15, 1915 in Cater, *op. cit.,* 768-9.
[41] Henry Osborn Taylor, *A Layman's View of History* (N. Y., 1935), 73.
[42] Taylor, *A Historian's Creed* (Cambridge, 1939), 13.
[43] *Ibid.,* 83.

to others, including Taylor? Perhaps it was in part an exaggerated addiction to the "dissidence of dissent," an important aspect of Puritan tradition in which he had been reared.

His highly individualistic efforts had obviously been crowned with considerable success. Of the best portions of his monumental *History of the United States During the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison,* a distinguished historian says that "nothing better had been written."[44] Later, Adams came to be almost without a peer in American historical writing if judged by sheer quantity "of clever writing, evolved through a life of thoughtful research and curious reflection."[45] He, moreover, knew that he was clever, and came to pose "as the spirit of a New England Montaigne."[46] In this mood, after the completion of his historical works in 1891, he was led by the deepening bitterness of personal tragedy into the later writings of his life—those published after 1900—that were characterized by brilliant superficiality. Like his more youthful contemporary, Mrs. Edith Wharton, Adams was a patrician, and of his later writings, the same comment may perhaps properly be made that has been made, perhaps in her case, not wholly with fairness, of Mrs. Wharton's talents:

> Brilliancy is a patrician quality, of the superficial, by the superficial, for the superficial . . . and the great mass of the world has some reason for looking at it with suspicion.[47]

This brilliant superficiality was to express itself after the turn of the century in a number of works, including *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres; A Letter to American Teachers of History;* and *The Education of Henry Adams.* In the first we find an idealization of the achievements of the twelfth and thirteenth

[44] Allen Johnson in *D.A.B.,* I, 65. Similarly, Michael Kraus in *The Writing of American History* (Norman, Okla., 1953), 189, says that Adams's history volumes "mark one of the highest achievements in American historiography." See also Donovan, *op. cit.,* 186-194, and Harvey Wish, *The American Historian* (N. Y., 1960), 161-180.

[45] Taylor, *A Layman's View of History,* 50.

[46] *Ibid.,* 73.

[47] John Curtis Underwood, *Literature and Insurgency: Ten Studies in Racial Evolution* (N. Y., 1914), 389-90. For a recent sympathetic appraisal of Mrs. Wharton's aristocratic position, see Marilyn Jones Lyde, *Edith Wharton: Convention and Morality in the Work of a Novelist* (Norman, Okla., 1959).

centuries, when, he believed, a unity of life and purpose existed which, he asserted, was never to be found again.[48] Despite the brilliancy of this effort, it leaves a final impression "of remoteness and unreality," of the reactions of a living soul to a religion which for him was dead.[49] He might adore the Virgin as the "eternal feminine source of life and color," a role obviously distinguished from that of a worshipper in the church.[50] Yet, a Catholic authority tells us that in *Mont-Saint-Michel* and *Chartres,* there "is not a page that is not soiled by some statement ascribing to Catholics the meanest sort of Mariolatry."[51] To Adams, the Virgin was capricious indeed, defiant of men and institutions.[52] Accordingly, one can understand that Catholics look upon the Virgin of Adams's adoration as "the synthetic Virgin of anti-Catholic prejudice," not the Mary of Roman Catholic devotion.[53] For Adams, undoubtedly the charm of this "medieval interlude was largely owing to its remoteness, to the very fact that it was a world of dream and only dream."[54]

In his scientific works and his *Education,* he showed himself "as a brilliant and erratic figure in the history of American thought," in reality "a gifted but unreliable scientific writer." To him the unity of medieval life had disappeared leaving a universe in its very foundations "incomprehensible, profoundly meaningless, and absurd."[55]

[48] J. C. Levenson, *The Mind and Art of Henry Adams* (Boston, 1957). According to Adams himself his later writings were merely an elaboration of his earlier views: "Education had ended in 1871; life was complete in 1890." *Education of Henry Adams,* 316.

[49] Gamaliel Bradford, "Henry Adams," in *American Portraits, 1875-1900* (Boston, 1922), 46.

[50] Levenson, *op. cit.,* 232.

[51] Rev. Hugh F. Blunt, "The Mal-Education of Henry Adams," *Catholic World,* CXLV (Apr. 1937), 51.

[52] Edward N. Saveth, "The Heroines of Henry Adams," *American Quarterly,* VIII (Fall, 1956), 237-9.

[53] Blunt, *loc. cit.,* 47-48. A present-day Jesuit, Rev. John P. McIntyre, takes exception to what he deems Professor Ernest Samuels's effort to show that "the 20th Century Queen of Heaven is indeed the Virgin of Henry Adams's *Chartres* and comments that Adams's Virgin is only "a literary construct, operating symbolically and mythically in his fiction." *The Christian Century,* LXXVIII (Jan. 4, 1961), 18-20.

[54] Bradford, *op. cit.,* 47.

[55] Henry S. Kariel, "The Limits of Social Science: Henry Adams's Quest for Order," *The American Political Science Review,* L (Dec. 1956), 1074-5.

Yet, a Unitarian clergyman of scholarly interests long ago pertinently suggested that the later medieval period was one abounding in "multiplicity,"[56] and the same conclusion has been emphasized by a present day scholar.[57] Adams's philosophical viewpoint had come to be a monism which accepted "a mechanical, materialistic, and deterministic interpretation of the Universe."[58] The Unitarian clergyman previously mentioned cogently pointed out that, according to Adams's central viewpoint, Adams's actions and opinions ought to have been predictable without any appeal to his personality. Yet, Adams's personality "protruded itself in the most obstreperous way. . . ." The real Henry Adams was no mere creature of circumstance, but persistently took a hand in his own education and pursued a vigorous course of purposeful activity.[59]

Just as the somewhat erratic Orestes Brownson often seemed to be something of a Calvinist who had accepted the authority of Rome, Adams sometimes acted like a Calvinist who had lost faith in God and had come to accept a kind of scientific "predestination." Yet, Adams did not manifest the reliability of the old-fashioned Calvinist. He accepted thought and consciousness as merely the results of the physical excitation of the senses and rejected William James's arguments for the existence of free will. On the other hand, he constantly acted as if he were the master of his fate.[60] Furthermore, he freely passed moral judgments regarding historical personages and his own contemporaries, judgments which were scarcely significant if men were essentially automatons.

If one disregards his practical acceptance of some measure of free will, one finds that his ideas of the world as a mechanism hardly coincide with his view of the world as "supersensual chaos," for a mechanism is surely a highly intricate, articulated

[56] Samuel M. Crothers, "Education in Pursuit of Henry Adams," *Yale Review*, VIII (April 1919), 580 ff.

[57] Robert A. Hume, "Henry Adams's Quest for Certainty," in Hardin Craig, ed., *Stanford Studies* (Stanford University, Cal., 1941), 364.

[58] See discussion in Henry Wasser, *The Scientific Thought of Henry Adams* (Thessaloniki, 1956), 9.

[59] Crothers, *loc. cit.;* Hume, *Stanford Studies,* 369.

[60] Schevill, *Six Historians,* 188.

machine, not an elaborate illustration of "chaos." One wonders if the intellectual world has not been unduly impressed by the amazing erudition of one who in his later days became something of a dilettante. Adams often demanded rigorous logic of others, but his own, often irresponsible utterances disarmed effective criticism because of his inveterate habit of uttering, with his tongue in his cheek, what from a less gifted person would have been deemed little more than nonsense.

Adams indeed betrayed a rather naive inconsistency. He accepted uncritically a law of physics (the second law of thermodynamics) which "was outmoded long before" he chose to premise a theory of history upon it.[61] Clearly, this was not science, and he himself refused truly to embrace it, for to have done so would have blocked "all alternatives to absolute, intensely personal despair."[62] His individuality was too assertive to allow him to proceed on the assumption that he was but part of the workings of a purposeless mechanism. For him, the Church and Society no longer provided sanctions for individual conduct, but, calling himself a "Constructive Christian Anarchist," he intended on his own personal responsibility to conserve the liberal values with which his life had long been associated.[63] Here, seemingly was the "dissidence of dissent" carried to anarchical, individualistic excess. A Catholic writer suggests:

> The fact is that Henry Adams was very much the intellectual egotist, the poseur. He talked big, smashed at things, as any spoilt philosopher that scarcely knew how to make up his own mind.[64]

The tragedy of Adams's life was not that he accomplished little or that his life was frequently far from happy. Indeed, in a sense he accomplished much, for he wrote distinguished, if not always wholly impartial, history and biography, and his *Education* and other works have interested deeply a generation of Americans. But, with his wealth, education, and native abil-

[61] Saveth, *loc. cit.*, 242.
[62] Kariel, *loc. cit.*, 1082.
[63] Levenson, *op. cit.*, 296.
[64] Blunt, *loc. cit.*, 48.

ity, "the list of his books is all too small a grist to come from the mill of education which he describes."[65]

Furthermore, his uncritical espousal of certain scientific theories sterilized the vitality of his so-called scientific writings. A generation ago Gamaliel Bradford commented that Adams's thinking in regard to "metaphysics and science" was "more brilliant than profound," for it was not "systematic, patient, logical, clarifying order and method."[66] A recent scholar, moreover, has demonstrated that "Adams was a discerning man but not a seer," and one whose illogicalities suggest that his "intellectual powers were not, in the final analysis fully trustworthy." Hence, he brought to his writing "no largeness of vision that might have won for him an heroic place in our literature."[67]

In his personal life, moreover, he seems to have needed religious inspiration, as he sought solace in travel, in the folklore of remote peoples, and in a rather eccentric approach to the adoration of Mary. Adams was a brilliant man and a learned one, but he was not necessarily a wise one. Life had brought him piercing sorrow, and he had found compensation in a spirit of destructiveness. This was so marked that his good friend, Augustus St. Gaudens, the sculptor, observed that if the world had exploded, Adams would have shrieked and yelled in delight and derision as he sailed into the air.[68] Adams's pessimistic philosophy, indeed, seems to have been prompted by wishful thinking, associated with anticipation of the worst and then pleasure when matters turned out worse than expected.[69] A distinguished historian came to the opinion that Adams had a veritable "passion" to prove mathematically an explanation of the "savage confusion" he claimed to have found in the world.[70]

The experience of the race has often been that the wisdom of the humble and unlettered is denied to the proud and learned. Some humble folk would indeed have surmised that

[65] Unsigned, "The Autobiography of a Failure," *The Nation,* Vol. 107 (Oct. 12, 1918), 403.
[66] Bradford, *American Portraits,* 50.
[67] Robert A. Hume in *Stanford Studies,* 373.
[68] Saveth, *loc. cit.,* 237.
[69] *Ibid.,* 241.
[70] Schevill, *Six Historians,* 188.

Adams's unsatisfied personal life needed the resources of religious inspiration. He had indeed found an interest, and some thought, a personal inclination, moving toward Catholicism.[71] Yet his whole heritage and education and the basic trend of his thought would have made it difficult to the point of impossibility, for him to have accepted the authority of Rome. A recent writer suggests even that while science offered Adams no effective consolation, "religion was not in his make-up."[72]

Yet Adams, who sought the advice of experts in physics, anthropology, and art, seems never to have looked for help to those whose temperament, training, and experience had given them insight into matters of faith. Honest men of religious inclination could only applaud his efforts to use reason as a basic guide to truth, but when he had followed it as far as it could take him and, moreover, had come to appreciate the limitations of science he might well have turned to other pathways.

If Adams had turned in perfect candor to the able and sympathetic Bishop Henry C. Potter of the Episcopal Church in New York, he might have had suggested to him, what he really knew well, that in order to believe, reason is not sufficient. One must cultivate a spiritual sense of insight, just as a musical ear must be trained for an appreciation of Wagner.[73]

Similarly, Washington Gladden, who later gave vitality to the Social Gospel, would have told him:

> The joints of the spiritual frame get very rusty if they are not exercised, and it hurts us to bend them . . . there is also a consciousness of lost power. The man who does not use his strength loses his strength. Any faculty neglected is speedily impaired.[74]

If he had turned to the resourceful Horace Bushnell of New Haven, the latter might have reminded him of the Scriptural warning regarding the use of talents if they are not to be taken away. Bushnell believed that the capacity for religion is a talent,

[71] Mrs. Winthrop Chandler, *Roman Spring*, 299.
[72] Levenson, *op. cit.*, 204-5.
[73] Sermon by Potter reported in *Harper's Weekly*, March 12, 1887.
[74] Gladden, *The Christian Way* (N. Y., 1877), 24. See also numerous sermons in Gladden MSS., Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

the highest one in man's grasp, yet one that is finally extirpated "by total disuse and the overgrowth of others."

If he had dropped into the Chapel in Harvard Yard, he might have had impressed on him anew the difficulty of a religious experience for the aristocratic and learned. There, the saintly Francis G. Peabody might have given Adams advice needed by many "mere mortals":

> The first condition of receiving the gift of God is to be free from the curse of conceit. The spiritually poor are the first to receive Christ's blessing. They have at least made themselves accessible to the further blessings Jesus has to bestow.[75]

A twentieth century essayist, indeed, has suggested that this pointed to the heart of Adams's problem, for Adams seemingly ignored the wisdom "that we must become as little children if we would enter the kingdom of heaven."[76] This viewpoint is also emphasized by a latter-day historian who sensed in Adams "an excessive self-esteem," related to the "pride of intellect," which paradoxically the Christian Church in its days of vital influence has always found self-defeating.[77]

If Adams had insisted that his doubts were relentless, here Bushnell, for example, might have reminded him that even as far back as the days of Nebuchadnezzar men had been so afflicted, for doubts "are the common lot and heritage of humanity." Wisdom had seemingly always dictated that the search to find truth is not enough, for one "must practice it and live by it to the extent that it has been found."[78]

At the time of Adams's death, an editor observed that Adams had demanded *scientific* proof for God, although he well knew that this was an impossible demand. The publicist commented:

> In a word, what was lacking in Adams's great equipment was faith. Perhaps no other virtue has been so burlesqued, exaggerated, and perverted; but nevertheless it is a real and self-conserving vir-

[75] Francis G. Peabody, *Mornings in College Chapel,* First Series (Boston, 1896), 59.
[76] Bradford, *American Portraits,* 57.
[77] Schevill, *Six Historians,* 188.
[78] Bushnell, *Sermons on Living Subjects* (N. Y., 1872), 166-170.

tue, and without it vision is cramped, and with vision, happiness.[79]

In such an extremity, perhaps, if Adams could have turned to few others in his intimate personal need, he might have looked to a relative, after whose family one of his brothers had been named. Many had been aided by the counsel of Phillips Brooks, a second cousin, who had in Adams's youthful days in London been a dinner guest of the family on at least one occasion and later at Adams's own home in Boston in 1875.[80] A competent authority tells us that Brooks was "beyond question one of the great preachers of Christian history," to be ranked with Chrysostom and Bossuet, with Schleiermacher and Robertson.[81] Brooks's own family, in his childhood had faced what had troubled Adams,—the waning spiritual power in advanced Unitarian thought—and had turned to the Episcopal Church.[82] Here, conceivably Adams might have found expression for his strong aesthetic aspirations.[83] To one who turned later almost wistfully to the Virgin Mary, Brooks indeed might have brought at least glimmering insights into the meaning of life through devotion, not to Mary, but to Jesus, the central Figure of Christian thought. The orthodox worshipped Him as the Incarnate Son of God, but Brooks consistently urged the doubting to give Him such loyalty as they could, for he was convinced that they would gradually find revealed to them the riches of Christian faith.[84] Indeed, this was the very path which had been taken long before by Pascal, whom Adams much esteemed, as Pascal had expressed his spiritual aspirations in *Pensées*.[85]

Yet, Brooks's advice might in part have been extremely un-

[79] En Casserole, "The Secret of Henry Adams," *The Unpopular Review*, X (Oct.-Dec. 1918), 439-40.

[80] Ernest Samuels, *The Young Henry Adams*, 126; Raymond W. Albright, *A Life of Phillips Brooks: Focus on Infinity* (New York, 1961), 180.

[81] Francis G. Peabody, *Reminiscences of Present-Day Saints* (Boston, 1927), 168.

[82] Alexander V. G. Allen, *Phillips Brooks* (N. Y., 1907), 1-9.

[83] Services after Adams's death were held for him in St. John's Episcopal Church, Washington.

[84] Allen, *Phillips Brooks*, 309-313. In a way, Adams's answer to such an approach was given in his novel, *Esther*. Samuels, *Henry Adams: The Middle Years*, 241, 247, 250.

[85] Max I. Baym, *The French Education of Henry Adams* (N. Y., 1951), 183-208.

palatable to Adams, for Brooks likely would have counselled that at the heart of intellectual difficulties was the worldly attitude of "self-indulgence" which seemed to make impossible "the precept of religion, which is self-surrender."[86] And, without such self-surrender, even Adams's prayers to the Virgin (and to the Dynamo) were "purely aesthetic constructs."[87]

Adams, it has been noted, did seek consolation as a rather eccentric devotee of his own cult of Mary, as evidenced in his so-called "Prayer to the Virgin." Certainly, the intellectual problems of religion were little less than gigantic for the post Civil War generation, but surely there was much truth in the contention of Woodrow Wilson that the great symbols of Christian thought were as valid as were those symbols commonly employed by science.[88] A fatal weakness of Adams was that he had a gift for smartness rather than sympathetic understanding. This may have led him to the using of Brooks (as has been conjectured by some) in his novel *Esther* as the basis for the far from admirable orthodox minister, Rev. Stephen Hazard.[89] Yet, if this be true, Adams was being no more just to Brooks than Mrs. Adams had been to Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes in her tart evaluation of that estimable woman. Brooks, indeed, by his restrained independence of thought, even in the somewhat tolerant Protestant Episcopal Church had so disturbed the ultra-orthodox that his nomination as Bishop of Massachusetts was ratified only with considerable difficulty.[90]

But, if Adams had disdained clerical interest, even in the person of a relative, he might have found some counsel from his long-time acquaintance, President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard. Eliot knew full well the effect of science upon modern thought, and the strength and limitations of the type of boyhood religious training which he had shared with Adams—Bos-

[86] Brooks, "The Pulpit and Popular Skepticism," *Princeton Review,* III (1879), 295.

[87] Hume, *Runaway Star,* 87-88.

[88] H. J. Ford, *Woodrow Wilson* (N. Y., 1916), 293-94.

[89] Hume, *Runaway Star,* 146; Albright, *Phillips Brooks,* 180-184, 421-422.

[90] William Lawrence, *Life of Phillips Brooks* (N. Y., 1930), 139-142. See also Albright, *op. cit.,* 356-373. Oddly enough, Adams by implication shows esteem for Brooks in his *Education,* 55, 235, 315.

ton Unitarianism. Like Adams, Eliot was intolerant of religious obscurantism.[91] Like Adams, Eliot was also well aware of the "gradual elimination" of the "positive content" from the faith of New England intellectuals, as they had moved from Calvinism to Unitarianism, and then to free thinking, until in the days of Adams, little remained "to the intellect but a great denial."[92]

Yet, amidst deep personal sorrows, Eliot had continued to see "evidence in the moral history of the race that a loving God rules the universe" and had affirmed that "trust in this supreme rule is personal consolation and support under many human trials and sufferings."[93] If Adams had objected that this involved doctrine to which he could not subscribe, Eliot—like Phillips Brooks—might have suggested that a basic method of testing doctrine was by employing it as a way of life. Then, according to Eliot, one would find that the revelation Jesus gave to mankind would become "more wonderful than ever."[94]

The world of religion, at least since the time of Job, had faced, as did Adams, "the conception of a logically completed unbelief, a world stripped of its ideals, with no region of spiritual hopes or of worship, a world absolutely without God, a permanently faithless world."[95] Adams himself, in facing such a possibility, had recoiled, seeking refuge in a world of art and imagination.[96] He craved relief as he saw and felt "the transcendent values of sensibility" assailed by "an onslaught of mechanism."[97] But obviously this yearning itself had no real meaning if the world is really chaos.

Among millions of Americans—Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—Adams's problem was one with which many had no sympathy. Some of these, ultra-conservative in their theology, held that reason and science were

[91] Henry James, *Charles W. Eliot,* (2 vols., Boston, 1930).

[92] Paul Elmer More, "Henry Adams," *Unpopular Review,* X (July-December, 1918), 255-72.

[93] Peabody, *Reminiscences of Present-Day Saints,* 302; Eliot, "The Religion of the Future," in *The Durable Satisfactions of Life* (New York, 1910), 198.

[94] Peabody, *op. cit.,* 304.

[95] Peabody, *Mornings in College Chapel,* First Series, 189-191.

[96] Levenson, *op. cit., passim.*

[97] Hume, *Runaway Star,* 88.

in no way paths to a significant knowledge of God. To such persons, faith in the self-disclosure or revelation of God was the sole basis for true religion. This position was difficult to hold in an uncompromising form, in view of modern man's tendency to inquire into the reasonableness of any principle or doctrine. Yet, groups like the Missouri Synod Lutherans, Southern Baptists, and in general, those later called Fundamentalists, made steadfast efforts to minimize the roles of reason and science.

A second large group, which included many Roman Catholics and moderately conservative Protestants, followed the principles held by, or similar to those of, St. Augustine. These people emphasized the primacy of faith but contended that the articles of faith should be interpreted as reasonably as possible.

A third group, which included particularly those who esteemed the teachings of St. Thomas of Aquinas, made a sharp distinction between the basic spheres of faith and reason. Yet, some truths, received by revelation might also be demonstrated by independent, rational proof, especially since both faith and reason are deemed gifts of God.[98] Even John Calvin, with his primary emphasis on the Revelation contained in Holy Scripture, had included a chapter on "Rational Proofs to Establish the Belief of the Scripture," in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion.*[99]

In the period before 1865, the vast majority of professing religionists were found within these three groups. To the extent that the role of Reason had been acknowledged it was as the Handmaiden, rather than the Rival, of Revelation. Reason might be used to support Revelation but never to challenge it. The Enlightenment and the upsurge of Deism had affected American religious thought in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but as late as the period around 1835, Andrews Norton, often called "the Unitarian Pope," had considered a denial of Scriptural authority in favor of Reason to be infidelity.[100]

[98] Faith, however, from the viewpoint of Roman Catholic theology, is also a matter of will, and here the sacraments of the Church, fortifying one in a saving faith, are deemed basic.

[99] Vol. I, 8.

[100] Perry Miller, *The Transcendentalists* (Cambridge, 1950), 11.

Yet, the impact of the scientific method, evolutionary views related both to the new geological and biological concepts, and Biblical criticism, were slowly altering the theological ideas of many American churchmen.[101] A large part of the American religious community remained conservative in matters of faith. After 1865, however, a fourth group which placed great emphasis on rational and empirical (and sometimes, intuitive) approaches to truth, became more influential. Left-wing Unitarians and other liberal religionists so thoroughly adopted this viewpoint as to substitute humanism or even naturalism for a religious faith based on Revelation.[102]

Within Roman Catholic circles in the United States Biblical scholars had been warned in the papal encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Providentissimus Deus*, in 1893 regarding latitudinarian views,[103] and Biblical Revelation was generally interpreted within a definitely conservative framework. Yet, change was asserting itself, and views which would have seemed heterodox to most American Roman Catholics in the late nineteenth century were gradually to emerge.[104]

The Northern Presbyterians, representative of intellectually sensitive, informed orthodoxy within Protestantism, after an ordeal of heresy trials, had felt impelled to accede to some implications of modern thought. Accordingly, they were moving from concepts associated with the verbal inerrancy of the Bible to those which affirmed the Scriptures to be "the faithful record

[101] See the present author's *Ordeal of Faith: The Crisis of Church-Going America, 1865-1900, passim.*

[102] For a convenient summary of differing attitudes toward faith and reason, see John M. Moore, "Religious Knowledge and Revelation," in David E. Roberts and Henry Van Dusen, eds., *Liberal Theology: An Appraisal* (New York, 1942), 163-177.

[103] John J. Wynne, *The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII* (*New York,* 1903).

[104] Thus, Father Carroll Stuhlmueller, C. P., asserts, in "Biblical Scholarship and Catholic Theology," *The Thomist,* XXIII (October, 1960), 545: "Scripture is being studied in its ancient forms and liturgical uses. The Bible again becomes a religious book rather than a science manual. . . . We understand now that a later redactor can be just as inspired as the original author. We can admit that a biblical author depended to a certain extent upon myth, without implying that the Bible is a myth. . . . 'Myth' can no longer be defined as a 'purely fictitious narrative' but rather as a story which attempts to explain hidden forces [with the Israelite, God] behind various human experiences."

of God's revelations." God is revealed, these Presbyterians were to assert in an official declaration of 1902, not only supremely in Jesus Christ but also in nature, in history and in the heart of men.[105]

In more liberal religious circles, the poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes, a Unitarian, affirmed his faith in a loving God, revealed "infallibly" in creation, in nature and in Jesus.[106] Thus, many Americans, especially those not committed to inflexible creedal affirmations, appeared to find an answer to their religious quest in less rigid views concerning Revelation than their forefathers had held.[107]

Faith, it was evident, came to be less exclusively anchored in minute doctrinal definitions and was to be based in larger measure on a trust in central Biblical truths, one involving personal commitment and fidelity with the sustaining fellowship of the brethren of the faith. To the extent to which Catholics acknowledged such a trust in the Church of their fathers, practically speaking they were permitted considerable freedom of opinion, even though conservative Catholics were not always happy with such a situation. As will be explained in more detail in a later chapter, Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, speaking in October 1893, at the observance of the silver jubilee of Cardinal Gibbons's service as a bishop, had declared that in religious matters the "routine" proved "fatal" and the "common" nothing more than "exhausted senility," hence, the Church must bring "the new, the extraordinary."[108] The Archbishop later was to deny emphatically that such views meant any sacrifice of dogmatic stability, but uttered, as they were, in the Baltimore Cathedral, a citadel of Roman Catholic ecclesiasticism, they

[105] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1902,* p. 150. For a detailed study of changing views, see Lefferts A. Loetscher, *The Broadening Church: A Study of Theological Issues in the Presbyterian Church since 1869* (Philadelphia, 1954), 83-90.

[106] John T. Morse, Jr., *Life and Letters of Oliver W. Holmes,* (2 vols., Boston, 1896), I, 280.

[107] For a brief examination of later liberal Protestant thought on this subject, with bibliography, see Georgia Harkness, *Foundations of Christian Knowledge* (Nashville, 1955).

[108] See Chapter II, and James H. Moynihan, *Archbishop Ireland* (N. Y., 1953), 36, *passim.*

certainly represented an impressive expression of a marked flexibility in the American approach to problems of faith.[109]

Certainly, as amidst the many tensions of the times, sensitive church-going Americans experienced order and beauty, unheralded examples of self-sacrifice and courage, and even intimations of immortality, they were apt to renew a venture of faith and exclaim with Browning's Bishop:

> What have we gained then by our unbelief
> But a life of doubt diversified by faith
> For one of faith diversified by doubt.[110]

In so doing such Americans were perhaps utilizing a fundamental common sense in seeking to resolve the inevitably tragic elements of life by a conscious cultivation of the religious sentiments and by personal support of the organized Church. At any rate, amidst great difficulties, millions of Americans remained loyal to institutional religion. The following account is an effort to portray the struggles and successes attendant upon their efforts to receive the gift of faith in God, to enter into a rewarding fellowship of faith with other men, and to exert a constructive impact upon the community, the state, the nation, and—in a measure—the world, through the medium of the churches of the land.

[109] For the struggle during this period between conservative and progressive forces in the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, see Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, 1895-1900* (Chicago, 1957) and Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

[110] Quoted, *e.g.* in Peabody, *Mornings in College Chapel,* First Series (Boston, 1896), 191.

PART 2

†

The Faith of the Church Expressed in Worship

CHAPTER II

Faith as Expressed in Religious Practices

†

IN the generation after the Civil War, religious observances played a large part in the lives of great numbers of American citizens. In countless homes—Protestant and Catholic—grace was said at meals and there were family prayers morning and evening. Among Protestants family worship often included daily Bible reading and the singing of a hymn or two. Among devout Catholics who lived near the parish church, some found it possible to attend an early week-day Mass and perhaps receive Communion before beginning the duties of the day. At bedtime, moreover, Catholic families sometimes joined in the recitation of the Rosary.[1]

Numerous Protestant families allotted time during the week for the telling of Bible stories and the memorizing of great passages of Scripture. Protestant churches invariably held prayer meetings on Wednesday or Thursday nights when opportunity for extemporaneous prayer was offered. These were often attended by considerable numbers of people, many of whom were not church members.[2]

In the midst of the panic of 1857, a daily noon prayer meeting had been started in the Fulton Street Dutch Reformed Church, New York City.[3] Soon, the church was thronged each noon, as busy men and women were permitted to enter and

[1] William Cardinal O'Connell, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1934), 2.

[2] William J. Tucker, *My Generation: An Autobiographical Interpretation* (Boston, 1919), 77-78.

[3] *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 30, 1871.

leave at will. The practice spread to other cities, and in downtown Columbus, Ohio, for example, such interdenominational services were held in the First Presbyterian Church for seventeen years.[4] Gradually the meetings declined in attendance in many instances, but as late as 1876 well-attended noon services were held regularly in three New York churches,—the Fulton Street Church, the Green Street Methodist Church, and the Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity.[5]

Weekly afternoon meetings, usually opened with devotions, included, in Protestant circles, the Ladies' Aid and the Missionary Societies. Among Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, children were often carefully taught the catechisms of their churches, and in Catholic and Lutheran parochial schools, religious exercises formed part of the regular schedule. In New England Congregational circles after 1865, the teaching of the Catechism continued to decline rapidly, and in general, family worship was probably less prevalent than formerly.[6] In Catholic circles it is noteworthy that the Pope in his encyclical on "Americanism" (1899) warned against a neglect of the meditative virtues.[7]

In most church groups, special emphasis was placed on the Sunday services, though many Jews and the Seventh-Day Adventists of course observed Saturday as the Lord's Day.

Much of the inspiration for daily living has been derived from the worship and religious services of the churches. Lyman Abbott, successor to Henry Ward Beecher as pastor in Brooklyn, New York, wrote:

> I met on the Sabbath Day an expectant congregation. The people had been accustomed to come to Plymouth Church not from a sense of duty to support the service but inspired by a desire to find in the service a support for their lives.[8]

[4] Francis E. Marsten, *After Eighty Years* (Columbus, Ohio, 1886), 26-28.

[5] *Harper's Weekly,* Jan. 8, 1876.

[6] Thus, Levi P. Morton, prominent New Yorker and Vice President under Benjamin Harrison, was the son of a minister and was a leader in church affairs but never had family prayers. Robert McElroy, *Levi P. Morton* (N. Y., 1930), 166.

[7] Thomas T. McAvoy, "Americanism, Fact and Fiction," *The Catholic Historical Review,* XXXI (1945), 142-46.

[8] Lyman Abbott, *Reminiscences* (Boston, 1914), p. 348.

Likewise, the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in the national capital was similar to thousands of other churches in the land in its contribution to the lives of its constituents, though some of them were persons of more than ordinary distinction. One of these had been Abraham Lincoln who scarcely ever failed to be present in the family pew,[9] and had also been regular in attendance at its mid-week prayer services. There, too, on a typical Sunday after the Civil War would be found Orville H. Browning, long a senator from Illinois, with his daughter, Emma, and Justice Robert C. Grier of the United States Supreme Court and his three daughters.[10] Later, in the same church, John M. Harlan, Supreme Court Justice from 1877 to 1911, was a regular attendant and long taught a Bible class. His religious spirit was so apparent that his intimate friend, Justice David J. Brewer, once said of him, "He retires at night with one hand on the Constitution and the other on the Bible, safe and happy in a perfect faith in justice and righteousness."[11]

Even churches which came to be acutely aware of the need for proclaiming a Social Gospel commonly recognized the primacy of worship. Thus, Washington Gladden, probably the chief exponent of Social Christianity in liberal Protestantism, earnestly believed that churches organized along ethical lines with the abandonment of religious forms were bound to fail, for they ignored man's fundamental nature.[12] Gladden asserted with emphasis, "The churches which desert the places of prayer and think to substitute the wisdom of men for the power of God are not going to give much aid" to the Christianizing of the social order.[13]

For great numbers of Americans such services were personally vital, not primarily a means of expressing social respectability or even of giving moral tone to the community. The appli-

[9] Bascom N. Timmons, *Portrait of an American: Charles G. Dawes* (N. Y., 1953), letter on p. 9.

[10] *Diary of Orville H. Browning*, ed. by James G. Randall (Springfield, Ill., 1933), II, 2.

[11] New York *Daily Tribune*, Oct. 15, 1911; *D.A.B.*, VIII, 272.

[12] Gladden, *The Church and Modern Life* (N. Y., 1908), 208.

[13] *Ibid.*, 164-5.

cability of the sermon to practical life was often discussed later at the Sunday dinner table, and many persons noted in their diaries the text of the sermon, the nature of the discourse, and its general effectiveness. Such intense interest was not confined to persons of limited activities (who perhaps had little else to do) but to men like Thomas M. Cooley, a foremost authority on constitutional law and first chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission.[14]

Most Protestant churches with a full-time pastor had two Sunday services, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon or evening. In farming communities the second service was sometimes in the afternoon so that lunch could be eaten at the church, making only one trip from home necessary for the two services. In smaller churches, especially those served by Methodist or other circuit riders, one church might have a service in the morning, while the same pastor would officiate at one or more other churches in the afternoon or evening. In some cases semi-monthly services were the custom for small or isolated congregations.

In all churches, the sermon was of considerable importance, and in non-liturgical Protestant congregations, it generally constituted the high point of the service. For many Protestants, it was comparable to the elevation of the Host in the Catholic Mass, for, as one authority tells us, "It is the uplifting of God in Christ, shedding His light on life, individual and corporal, and claiming the adoring devotion of His children."[15]

In some respects the American pulpit probably reached its height at the close of the Civil War.[16] Education in the United States had made great progress, insuring many highly literate congregations, especially in favored urban neighborhoods. All cities had their gifted preachers, and New York stood preeminent in the fame and influence of those occupying its pulpits.

[14] Earl D. Babst and Lewis G. Vander Velde, *Michigan and the Cleveland Era* (Ann Arbor, 1948), 95.

[15] Charles W. Gilkey, "Protestant Preaching," in Cavert and Van Dusen, eds., *The Church Through Half A Century* (New York, 1936), 204.

[16] Andrew L. Drummond, *Story of American Protestantism* (Boston, 1951), 358.

In that metropolitan area none approached in power and in renown the inimitable Henry Ward Beecher of Plymouth Church (Congregational), Brooklyn, where he was pastor from 1847 until his death forty years later. He was not particularly original, logical, or subtle, but the vital and varied ways in which he presented fundamental truths, often with vivid imagery, made him "the Shakespeare of the American Pulpit."[17] A host of distinguished and sophisticated Americans have testified to his power. Andrew D. White, who became a noted University President, author, and diplomat, declared:

> . . . Nothing could exceed his bold brilliancy. He was a man of genius; even more a poet than an orator; in sympathy with every noble cause; and utterly without fear of the pew-holders inside his church or the mob outside.[18]

A Scottish visitor, attending his church in 1868, declared:

> . . . All the faculties that God has given him he demands the liberty to use in His service—whether it be wit, logic, sarcasm, pathos, or humour. He is warring with the devil, and every arrow in his quiver must fly.[19]

Hence, according to the Scotsman, Beecher's church was "a power in the land," a terror to evil-doers but a source of encouragement to those fighting the battles of the world with courage and integrity.[20]

Fame brought to Beecher manifold and alluring temptations, especially as sentimental women knew no bounds in their adulation, and widespread, specific charges came to be made against his personal morality. Yet, "at the moment of his death he was the greatest preacher of the English-speaking race, and there have been few greater in its annals. . . . The people heard him gladly, because he was a sturdy, strong, inspiring preacher, not of theological doctrines, but of righteousness of life. . . ."[21]

A far different preacher of the day was the militant, evangeli-

[17] *Ibid.*, 360.
[18] White, *Autobiography*, (2 vols., New York, 1905), II, 536.
[19] David Macrae, *The Americans at Home* (N. Y. ed. of 1952), 71.
[20] *Ibid.*, 72-3.
[21] *Harper's Weekly*, Mar. 19, 1887.

cal John Hall, whom Beecher called "the Young Irishman with the golden mouth."[22] Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, he preached twice each Sunday to overflowing congregations. For him, a living church was always a preaching church, as he felt that the decline in the pulpit always went hand in hand with a decay in piety. But, to him—as to many other ministers—preaching was not enough, and he was tireless in the pastoral attention which he gave to old and young, to those high and low in economic life, to business leaders and household servants, and to the vigorous as well as the sick or dying.[23]

In Brooklyn, in addition to Beecher, there were numerous preachers of outstanding influence. Among these was Thomas De Witt Talmadge, a Dutch Reformed clergyman who became pastor of Central Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn in 1869. At once the edifice was thronged, the overflow congregation occupying even the curbstones and the porches on the opposite side of the street. To take care of the largest crowds assembled to hear any preacher in America, a Presbyterian Free Tabernacle (seating 3500 and then enlarged to accommodate 4100) was erected, but crowds were still turned away.[24] The Tabernacle burned three times (in 1872, 1889, and 1894), and was twice rebuilt, but, discouraged by the third disaster, he accepted the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Washington, D. C.

To many he was a mountebank, and to some of his Presbyterian brethren, he seemed to use "improper methods" of preaching, which tended to bring religion into contempt. Yet his impressive figure, winning manner, bizarre texts, startling illustrations, and compelling gestures brought to him the unbounded admiration of thousands. His strength was his firm faith in an old-fashioned, literal Gospel, and his ability to transmit seemingly the very essence and aroma of Biblical times and personalities to his own generation.[25]

[22] *D.A.B.*, VIII, 137.
[23] Thomas C. Hall, *John Hall, Pastor and Preacher* (N. Y., 1904).
[24] *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 28, 1874.
[25] *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1872.

Other churches in Brooklyn—as elsewhere—were important as centers of family religious life rather than spectacular preaching. Such was the case of the Church of the Pilgrims (Congregational) of which Richard Salter Storrs was pastor for more than fifty years after 1846. Storrs emphasized the congregation as a "sacred fellowship of worship and service," as many families found inspiration in the church over more than one generation.[26] Yet, Storrs was a preacher of such talent that in 1896 it was asserted that few would question that he was "the foremost master of sustained eloquence now living on this continent, and with the exception of Martineau, it may be doubted whether as a rhetorician he has a superior among the preachers of the world."[27]

Many Protestant Episcopal churches placed less emphasis on preaching. Reliance on a service in keeping with the Book of Common Prayer sometimes meant that the congregation was denied a good sermon. Episcopalians, therefore, sometimes complained that easy-going rectors were content with efforts which congregations of other denominations would have protested.[28] Prominent Congregationalists from Michigan visiting hospitable friends in Massachusetts in 1886 were much disappointed that at the Episcopal Church which they attended with their host and hostess, instead of a stimulating sermon there was "the reading of a pastoral letter from the Bishop."[29]

Yet, after the death of Beecher, the unquestioned master of pulpit oratory in America was an Episcopalian, Phillips Brooks, of Trinity Church, Boston. He had a genuine interest in men of all faiths, and his magnificent presence (he was over six feet three in height), his radiant personality, his genuine humility, all contributed to make his intimate, positive, and eloquent

[26] *The Independent,* Nov. 18, 1886, p. 1482.

[27] *Harper's Weekly,* Nov. 28, 1896.

[28] Anonymous, "Confessions of an Episcopalian," *The Forum,* I (July 1886), 416-27; Allan Nevins and Milton H. Thomas, *Diary of Geo. T. Strong,* (4 vols., N. Y., 1952), IV, 439-440.

[29] Earl D. Babst and Lewis G. Vander Velde, *Michigan and the Cleveland Era,* 95.

messages of maximum effectiveness. Children were at once won to him, and to all he appeared as one of utter goodness.[30] Intellectuals spoke of him "with unwonted regard and esteem," and it was widely recognized that his varied gifts were "so completely under the control of a nature disciplined by religion" that his preaching could act "with unrestrained power upon the souls of his hearers."[31]

In the Roman Catholic Church, men like James Cardinal Gibbons had the Irishman's proverbial gift of ready and effective speech. His influence was enhanced by his tolerance which restrained him from speaking any "word of reproof against any Christian man or any Christian faith." Accordingly, often at the Cathedral in Baltimore one-fourth to one-half of the congregation present would be non-Catholics, many frequently standing in the aisles to hear him. The sermons were seldom over twenty-five minutes in length and on subjects like "Christian Manhood," "Jesus Christ Our Friend," and "Am I My Brother's Keeper?", which would not offend Protestants.[32]

That such preaching was profoundly effective is shown by the case of a non-Catholic doctor from Virginia who in 1889 consulted eminent specialists in Baltimore, for he feared that he had contracted leprosy. The noted doctors confirmed the diagnosis, and the Virginian decided upon suicide, but, since the Cathedral was open, he ventured inside to rest. Gibbons happened to be preaching that day on the Lord's chastening of those whom he loves, and the disturbed man abandoned the thought of taking his own life and returned home. Somehow, in less than six weeks the malady wholly disappeared, though not until twenty-seven years later was Gibbons informed of the help which he had unknowingly given.[33]

Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, a native of the Emerald Isle, also often spoke out eloquently in a way which was pleasing

[30] William Lawrence, *Memories of a Happy Life* (Boston, 1926), 74-5.
[31] *Harper's Weekly*, May 9, 1891.
[32] Allen S. Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, (2 vols., N. Y., 1922), II, 992, 843 ff.
[33] John T. Ellis, *The Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, (2 vols., Milwaukee, 1953), II, 573-74.

to non-Catholics, although not always acceptable to conservatives among his co-religionists.

Thus, at a silver jubilee in honor of Gibbons' years in the episcopacy, he declared in a sermon in Baltimore (1893):

> What the Church at any time was, certain people hold she ever must remain. They do her much harm, making her rigid and unbending, incapable of adapting herself to new and changing surroundings. The Church, created by Christ for all time, lives in every age and is of every age.[34]

Catholic leaders, as well as Protestant ones, realized the dangers of sensationalism which tempted the gifted preacher. In Cincinnati, the brother of Bishop John B. Purcell, the Rev. Edmund Purcell, was a handsome Irish-American with "exceedingly expressive face and graceful gesticulation." Accordingly, the church where he preached became crowded, as "the winning graces of the orator, his touching pathos and strong argumentative powers, passed his fame out beyond his congregation, so that as many Protestants came to hear him as Catholics." The bishop, however, came to believe that such "theological fire-works" tended to "vanity in the speaker, and an unhealthy excitement in the hearers," and the practice was discontinued.[35]

In Lutheran congregations, the minister looked upon himself as primarily a "pastor," a shepherd of his flock. Yet, often the clergyman "looked upon preaching as the most fundamental of a pastor's many duties." Accordingly, sermons were frequently carefully prepared with faultless construction.[36]

The most effective preachers were of course those who presented a vital message of personal concern to their congregation. Thus, the nationally known Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, for a generation pastor of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, looked upon the sermon as "spiritual gunnery," as he utilized a powerful voice to carry vividly illustrated and sincerely wrought messages to a devoted congregation.[37]

[34] John Ireland, *The Church and Modern Society* (Chicago, 1897), 45; Allen S. Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, II, 587-89.

[35] Sister Mary Agnes McCann, *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters* (3 vols., N. Y., 1917-1923), III, 175.

[36] Karen Larsen, *Laur. Larsen* (Northfield, Minn., 1936), 206.

[37] *Harper's Weekly*, Apr. 18, 1896; Apr. 18, 1885.

In the same community, however, Rev. Lyman Abbott, who succeeded Beecher at Plymouth Church, avoiding pulpit oratory, established a reputation as perhaps the "first great master of the conversational style" of preaching which became fairly characteristic of twentieth century sermons.[38]

Somewhat similarly, Washington Gladden who became the eminent pastor of First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio, depended upon carefully prepared, thoughtful discourses, delivered with conviction, rather than upon oratorical devices. Concerned as he was with compelling social problems, he deemed it best usually to devote his Sunday morning sermons to themes of personal religion. Sunday evening discourses dealt with matters of broader social interest, but even here he was cautious, always "keeping the discussion close to the issue of life and character."[39]

In 1894, an observer declared that to the extent that the American pulpit had declined in power, it was largely due to an emphasis on "all sorts of false issues and wholly irrelevant questions" and by a too prevalent notion among some of the clergy "that the chief business of the preacher is to amuse and entertain." The same writer expressed the belief that Phillips Brooks had never spoken on "topics of the hour," financial, political, or social, for the public loses confidence in those who speak on topics on which they are not experts.[40] Perhaps the author himself was indulging in exaggerated emphasis when he asserted:

> Vision—spiritual vision—is what the Pulpit needs. All great preachers are at heart poets; for religion is always and everywhere poetry, not prose. Poetry is the true, the only language of the spirit. . . .[41]

As a poet in the pulpit, Rev. David M. Swing, had, according to some of his Presbyterian brethren, departed from the logic of religious thought. His moving poetic imagery had helped to turn the interdenominational Central Church, Chicago, which

[38] Charles W. Gilkey, "Protestant Preaching," in Cavert and Van Dusen, eds., *op. cit.*, 211.

[39] Gladden, *Recollections* (Boston, 1909), 411. See also Gladden, *Parish Problems* (N. Y., 1887), 333.

[40] G. Monroe Royce, "The Decline of the American Pulpit," *The Forum*, XVI (Jan. 1894), 568-78.

[41] *Ibid.*, 575.

he founded, into "a great preaching station of the Middle West."[42] Perhaps Swing was reacting against a somewhat exaggerated emphasis on the formulas of theology.

Cardinal Gibbons shied away from abstruse theological niceties, as he thought of the pulpit as a singular vantage point for inculcating moral values and for instructing in great religious truths.[43] Like other great preachers of the time, he borrowed as freely as possible both in thought and expression from the Bible, especially the New Testament, presenting logically and earnestly points directed toward the understanding of a unified theme.[44] He, like the great Protestant preachers of his day, preached the old gospel but "with fresh and alert vitality."[45]

Among Protestant preachers of the time the Methodists had their share of persuasive, evangelically earnest pulpit orators who often employed amazing facility of expression and broad, imaginative appeal for a profound influence upon their hearers. In the North, especially prominent was Bishop Matthew Simpson, who delivered the eulogy at Lincoln's burial in Springfield, Illinois.[46] Merely one of numerous examples among Southern Methodists was Bishop George F. Pierce who preached old-fashioned Gospel sermons until his death in 1884.[47]

Everywhere, even when preaching services were not available, Sunday School was generally conducted by earnest laymen and women. Prominent people like John Wanamaker, Philadelphia merchant prince and Postmaster General, took an active part in the work of such schools.[48] Typical of many others was Elihu Root, noted statesman of the early 1900's, who as a young lawyer taught a class and served as superintendent of the Sunday School of West Presbyterian Church, New York City.[49]

Sometimes, Sunday School would be held at different hours by various churches in a town, and some children attended two or more services in different churches. In Kansas around 1880,

[42] Gilkey, *op. cit.*, 209.
[43] Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 564.
[44] *Ibid.*, 565.
[45] Karen Larsen, *op. cit.*, 206.
[46] Robert D. Clark, *The Life of Matthew Simpson* (N. Y., 1956).
[47] George G. Smith, *The Life and Times of George F. Pierce* (Sparta, Ga., 1888).
[48] *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 408.
[49] Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root*, (2 vols., N. Y., 1938), I, 57-9.

William Allen White attended a Campbellite Sunday School at 9, the Presbyterian at 12, and the Methodist one at 2:30.[50] In Salem, Illinois, William Jennings Bryan as a boy attended the Baptist Sunday School in the morning and the Methodist one in the afternoon. Later (about 1872) he began going to the Cumberland Presbyterian Sunday School in the afternoon. There the superintendent was a most friendly man who presented such graphic illustrations based on Bible texts that, according to Bryan, a permanent impression was made on youthful thoughts and lives. Here, too, one Sam Chance who possessed a remarkable tenor voice led the singing. Soon, the youthful Bryan asked his parents if he might join the church and became a lifelong Presbyterian.[51]

Sunday School lessons were often carefully studied. Bryan, for example, spent part of the evening of his twenty-first birthday in preparing the lesson for the next day. As a college student at Harvard, Theodore Roosevelt took pride in the Episcopal Sunday School class which he taught for three and a half years, until he was asked to become an Episcopalian. He refused and thereupon was dismissed "for the heinous crime of being a Presbyterian."[52]

In most Sunday Schools a majority of the adults and children (often all except the very small youngsters) would join together in opening exercises. The classrooms were arranged on three sides of a hollow square (according to the so-called Akron plan) with many seats in the central area for those who would later go to classrooms in other parts of the building. In Episcopal and Lutheran Sunday Schools the lessons often followed the ecclesiastical year. In a Lutheran Sunday School, the service commonly opened with a hymn, followed by a prayer, another hymn, the reading of the lesson of the day by the superintendent and scholars, and the recitation of the Apostles' Creed. The latter was often omitted in the churches of some denominations,

[50] *The Autobiography of William Allen White* (N. Y., 1946), 60-1.

[51] *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan, by Himself and His Wife Mary Baird Bryan* (Philadelphia, 1925), 47 ff, 450.

[52] *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, 1870-1918* (N. Y., 1924), 37.

[53] George J. Manson in *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 4, 1888.

but generally in all, after the opening exercises the school would break up into classes for instruction and discussion.[53]

Much attention was given by a host of people to the promotion of Sunday School activities. One of the most noted was Marion Lawrance, who in 1876 had become superintendent of the Sunday School of Washington Street Congregational Church, Toledo, Ohio. Under his direction it developed into the model school of the country. Thereupon, he devoted much time to addressing conventions at home and abroad, and his book, *How to Conduct a Sunday School* sold widely and was translated into a dozen languages.[54]

To aid and strengthen the spiritual life and Christian service of young people, a Congregational pastor, Rev. Francis E. Clark, of Williston Church, Portland, Maine, organized in his parish the interdenominational Society of Christian Endeavor, February 2, 1881. It was founded on avowed commitment to Christ, training in Christian service, loyalty to the Church, and widespread Christian fellowship.[55] By 1892 it had 1,200,000 members, and when its national convention was held in that year, thirty thousand persons taxed the capacities of the three largest halls in New York City. Delegates came even from Europe, Asia, Australia, and Africa.[56] In 1894, fifteen of Cleveland's largest churches were secured for simultaneous meetings at their annual convention.[57] By 1899, there were 55,813 local societies with 3,500,000 members.[58]

Some denominations organized their own national young people's societies such as the Baptist Young People's Union. The Epworth League, drawing from a large Methodist constituency had its own International Conventions.[59] Even the conservative Missouri Synod Lutherans organized in 1893 a Walther League for the youth of their church.[60]

[54] *D.A.B.*, XI, 43-44. A whole monograph might be devoted to late nineteenth century Sunday School music.
[55] *Dictionary of American History*, I, 370.
[56] *Harper's Weekly*, July 8, 23, 1892.
[57] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1894.
[58] *Ibid.*, July 22, 1899.
[59] *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1899.
[60] Walter A. Baepler, *A Century of Grace* (St. Louis, 1947), 210.

CHAPTER III

Varieties of Religious Emphasis

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AT the turn of the century, a student of American church life wrote:

It is in the communion and in the other sacraments like baptism, in which we find the most typical and exalted religious emotions. The Lord's Supper has its prototype in the primitive sacrifice in which man sought to commune with God. This is not only shown by the similarity of the rites, but also by the Pauline Theology which intentionally related the two.[1]

Baptism constituted one of the two sacraments observed by all orthodox Christians. Even Professor Charles E. Norton of Harvard, who had definitely departed from orthodox ways, felt the need for a christening of a new baby in the household. Thereupon, Edwin L. Godkin, eminent editor of the *Nation*, wrote him that he personally had "not entirely got rid of the medieval faith in forms," although he had never been able to "muster courage" to have his own children christened. Godkin expressed the hope that the ceremony might really prove "the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace" for the babe.[2] Many years later, when asked to be a godfather in a Unitarian ceremony, Godkin questioned whether he should serve in such a capacity. He declared that, having never left the Episcopal Church, he still had a "certain reverence" for the office of godfather and would have to know distinctly what obligations were involved.[3]

Mormons often conducted baptisms for the unbaptized dead.[4]

[1] John P. Hylan, *Public Worship* (Chicago, 1901).

[2] Rollo Ogden, ed., *Life and Letters of E. L. Godkin,* (2 vols., N. Y., 1907), II, 37. The fathers of both men had been ministers.

[3] *Ibid.*, 241, letter of Dec. 26, 1899.

[4] Ray B. West, *Kingdom of the Saints* (N. Y., 1957), 119-120.

The communion service was of course daily a part of the Mass in Catholic churches and was sometimes observed daily in Episcopal churches. The Christian (Disciples) Church administered communion each Sunday, and in other Protestant denominations, quarterly Communion services were of special importance. Presbyterian churches in particular stressed a preparatory service a few evenings before Communion Sunday as a means of spiritual preparation. Various denominations excluded as communicants those from other churches, and Baptists often offered the sacrament only to the immersed.

Catholic, Orthodox, Episcopal, and Lutheran churches formally received the young (and sometimes older persons) into adult religious responsibilities by the rite of Confirmation. A somewhat similar Jewish ceremony was often important in the life of the synagogue.[5]

Weddings and funerals were frequently the occasions for much impressive pomp and ceremony in ritualistic churches, and in all churches the funeral service was an occasion when the message of the preacher was particularly impressive and influential. As merely one example, at the funeral in St. Patrick's Cathedral of Archbishop McCloskey's close friend, Professor Henry Anderson of Columbia University, in 1876, the prelate declared:

> I would fain believe that there is no breast here in which some sympathetic chord has not been touched with gentle soothing by the plaintive chants, the solemn ceremony, the impressive rites with which holy church, as a fond mother, loves to honor those of her departed who have died, sealed with the sign of faith.[6]

Perhaps a deeper understanding of the nature of religious services in the United States can be gained by dividing the churches of America (somewhat arbitrarily) into four groups in relation to the emphasis in their worship services:

(a) Ritualistic or sacramentarian;
(b) Experiential or emotional;

[5] For an elaborate description of the Confirmation service in a Reform Jewish congregation, see *The Independent*, XLIII (Oct. 1, 1891), 1445 ff.
[6] Farley, *McCloskey*, 333 ff.

(c) Intellectual or doctrinal;
(d) Rationalistic.[7]

Of course, practically all of the various churches placed some emphasis on doctrine, on ritual, on personal experience, and on the use of reason in religion and believed that these factors should blend in making a maximum contribution to the religious life of the individual and community. Yet, some insight is no doubt gained by endeavoring to differentiate between different organizations on the basis of their *predominant* emphasis.

(a) Among those who emphasized the ritualistic or the sacramentarian were to be found the Roman Catholics and the eastern churches like the Greek Orthodox as well as High Churchmen among the Protestant Episcopalians. Those who stressed the importance of the sacramental approach, of course, did not exclude doctrinal or experiential religious factors. Indeed, the sacraments were near the very center of their *doctrinal* system and were looked upon as the chief means of attaining a saving religious experience. Roman Catholics, moreover, did not minimize the part played by doctrine in the instruction of the young or in a reasoning approach to more mature minds. A Roman Catholic Mother Superior, furthermore, might stress the importance of practical religious experience, advising her nuns that those among them who made many novenas and said many prayers were not necessarily the real "children of Mary" but rather those who did the will of God. She might urge that children should be taught that their *principal* devotion should be the "perfect fulfillment of their daily duties" rather than the decoration of statues, the chanting of hymns, or the repetition of long prayers. Yet, such a Mother Superior also urged frequent Holy Communion and daily attendance at Mass.[8] A Paulist Father who later left Catholicism has written movingly of the tremendous impression that this stately and picturesque Catho-

[7] It would be misleading to use these classifications except to stimulate a better understanding of the religious approach of various groups. They are by no means all-inclusive or iron-clad divisions. See Henry P. McComas, *The Psychology of Religious Sects* (N. Y., 1912).

[8] Sister Helen Louise (Nugent), *Sister Louise . . . (1813-1886). . . .* (Washington, 1931), 281.

lic mystery makes upon young and old who accept the Church's teaching. An awe that seemed to betoken a "final authority," a solemnity that spoke both "of love and tragedy," a "sombre and splendid majesty" that gave one a "vague sense of sublime destinies and magnificent deliverance," all served to dramatize rather than to analyze "man's loftiest concern," the appropriation of the power of the Unseen. At the same time it served to satisfy "his deepest hunger," that which craves "sublimity and ecstasy and awe" and release from the sense of being a "casual atom of humanity." Though to many the significance of the priestly ministrations at the altar, of the rapid repetition of words in an ancient tongue, and of the "bursts of singing in Latin from the choir" were not very intelligible, the moving ceremony gave an indubitable sense of being an "heir of the ages" and "a citizen in the commonwealth of God."[9]

Similarly, James G. Huneker, noted musical critic and essayist,[10] son of a middle-class Catholic family in Philadelphia, was one who not only experienced the intellectual stresses of the late nineteenth century but confessed that personally he was not of a strong religious temperament. Yet, for him there was great fascination in Hebrew and Catholic ritual, as the development of the race, with its "totem and fetish, tabu, magic, animism, and idols" were represented in the "aesthetic symbolism" of the Mass. He found that he loved "the odour of incense, the mystic bells, the music, the atmosphere of the altar," and especially the wisdom of the Church. Edward Dickinson, noted authority on musical history and long professor at Oberlin College around the turn of the century, likewise has paid tribute to the way in which the Mass has permitted the worshipper, divesting himself of worldly thoughts, to ignore the personality of the priest, and, with the aid of great music and ancient rituals, to partake of a moving religious experience.[11]

[9] *Under Orders, The Autobiography of William Lawrence Sullivan* (New York, 1944), 30 ff.

[10] *D.A.B.*, IX, 379-80.

[11] Huneker, *Steeplejack* (N. Y., 1922), 34-5, 52; Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church* (N. Y., 1902).

Accordingly, the Church of Rome might readily pardon some evidence of moral frailty on the part of a communicant but was more drastic with those who wilfully absented themselves from Mass and from the sacraments. To those holding to the sacramental emphasis, such "means of grace" were not merely helpful but indispensable to the average person seeking salvation. Yet, the ritualistic approach carried obvious dangers to vital, ethical religion. Those of Calvinistic traditions continued to be acutely sensitive in seeking to avoid the lure of otherworldly sacramentarianism. They sensed that the rapport experienced by the faithful Catholic at Mass and the "incomparable beauty" of the Episcopalian *Book of Common Prayer* might involve emotionalism rather than spirituality and might lull one into complacency regarding man's obligations to his fellow man. Unitarians who generally shunned ritual were often known for their avoidance of vice, and many emphasized the need for stressing "honesty, goodness, truth, sobriety, and personal righteousness." The very richness of the liturgical majesty of the Episcopalian *Book of Common Prayer* led at times to a kind of "bibliolatry." One frequent attendant at Episcopalian services in the 1890's, moreover, recalled that the service was the very "apotheosis of esthetic respectability," moving with the perfection of "a Beethoven symphony," but often doing little for the humble soul who had come prepared to seek a heart-warming communion with the living God.[12]

(b) Methodists in the United States were generally looked upon as the chief exponents of the experiential or emotional approach to religion. Revivals, moreover, were widely viewed as the principal means of stimulating such emotional expression. Methodists in the years around 1865 still placed great emphasis on revivals, a practice shared by many other denominations, even those which at the same time stressed doctrinal or intellectual considerations. The so-called Cumberland Presbyterians had broken from the main body of Presbyterians partly in order to

[12] *The Nation,* XXV (Oct. 25, 1877), 252-3; Anonymous, "Confessions of an Episcopalian," *The Forum,* I (July, 1886), 416-27; Henry S. Canby, *American Memoir* (Boston, 1947), 72-4.

be less inhibited in their emotional appeal, and the Disciples of Christ had developed out of similar circumstances. Even the Baptists, whose emphasis on adult immersion was a central doctrine, often, especially among the Negroes, made the baptismal service an occasion of great emotional expression.[13]

Some religious groups which originally had appealed especially to those of German antecedents, such as the United Brethren, the Church of God (Winebrenner), and the Evangelical Association (Albright) were definitely Methodistic in their emotional appeal.[14]

Revivalistic practices had been especially effective on the frontier, where life was often crude, individualistic, and unrestrained. Revivals, indeed, had often furnished the emotional stimulus to arouse to a better way of life the crude frontiersman who frequently had abandoned the religious restraints of his former home. At a time when life was extremely individualistic, revivals summoned the average man, with all his elements of strength and weakness, to a sense of personal sin as a means of improving individual and social life.[15] They also gave emotional release amidst the drudgery, sin, and ever present death found on the frontier. Though individualistic in approach, successful revivals placed great emphasis on mass psychology, and the person who was "saved from sin" found a sense of belonging to something greater than the inadequacies of his own life.

Before 1865, and to a lesser degree thereafter, the camp meeting had been a favorite form of revivalistic effort. Sometimes reaching a high point of emotional excitement with attendant groans, shrieks, and similar manifestations, it served not only as an occasion for intense religious expression but as an opportunity for much-coveted social contact. Eventually camp meetings had become institutionalized (with manuals as to techniques) and were regularly held in the late summer and early fall as a means of reviving and increasing church mem-

[13] J. Minton Batten, "Henry M. Turner, Negro Bishop Extraordinary," *Church History*, VII (1938), 231 ff.

[14] Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (Nashville, 1937), 89-90.

[15] W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America* (N. Y., 1944), Preface.

bership.[16] People sometimes travelled as far as a hundred miles to such meetings. As the country became more thickly settled and social outlets became more numerous, the era of the camp meeting passed its zenith. Then, sometimes in lieu of the protracted camp meeting a Sunday "basket meeting" would be held in a grove. Preaching in the morning and afternoon was interspersed by a basket dinner at noon, but often such occasions on the whole were more social than religious. Accordingly, to remedy the lack of fervor, in the fall the churches often held revival services every night (and sometimes during the day) for a period of a month or six weeks. Exhortation was emphasized, the preacher taking for a text such a verse as that which records the wail of Isaiah, "Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" Perhaps, with a voice like "rolling thunder" and seemingly "deep and powerful enough to shake the very foundations of the earth," the preacher might alternately describe in graphic fashion the eternal torments of Hell and then the blissful glory of the Heavenly shore. To accentuate the emotionalism of the service hymns were employed such as "The Judgment" ending with the stanza:

> Now despisers, look and wonder;
> Hope and sinners here must part;
> Louder than a peal of thunder,
> Hear the dreadful sound, "Depart!"
> Lost forever, lost forever,
> Hear the dreadful sound, "Depart!"

A hymn of invitation such as one beginning, "Come to Jesus," was often sung as hearers were urged to approach the altar to confess their sins and to avow their sorrow and repentance. Then as men, women, and the young came to the front to kneel at the "mourners' bench," a favorite hymn used was, "Just As I Am Without One Plea." Thereupon, a layman might be asked to lead in prayer. The words of his fervent petition were frequently almost drowned out by shouts of "Glory! glory! glory!"

[16] Elizabeth K. Nottingham, *Methodism and the Frontier: Indiana Proving Ground* (N. Y., 1941), 205-6.

"A-men and A-men;" and "Hallelujah! hallelujah." A further accompaniment was often the sound of loud groans and of the animated clapping of hands. People frequently became so emotionally agitated that they fell into a swoon, and on occasion the scene in the church approximated Bedlam. Quite often the curious and even town rowdies came to occupy the rear pews and with the zest of the lover of gossip they sought to learn the identity of those townspeople who "got religion." Even boisterousness was far from unknown, and officers of the law were sometimes summoned to arrest those who were "disturbing a religious meeting."[17]

Revivals indeed sometimes degenerated into an emotional debauch or became so tinged with sensationalism as to exceed the limits of good taste. At a revival in Ithaca, New York, one woman preacher "harped" on the idea that she was a brand plucked from the jaws of Hell and expressed the view that her own deceased parents were doubtless among the damned. Then, when a Cornell University student decided to leave the meeting she shouted to him, "There goes a young man straight down to hell." Instantly the student turned and replied to the evangelist, "Have you any message to send to your father and mother?"[18]

Yet, revivals were often conducted in a more restrained way. Sometimes the intellectual approach was not ignored, and often the efforts were not without salutary results. The noted Presbyterian (later Reformed) theologian, John W. Nevin, had distinguished between desirable revivals, a natural expression of the religious fervor of God's people, and undesirable ones, introduced in an extraneous way.[19] American Protestantism after 1865 was still dominantly "evangelical," stressing its mission as a bearer of "glad tidings" to the world, hence properly conducted revivals seemed to many the best means of accomplishing that end. Even in some Lutheran churches, these "new measures" were frequently employed, a pastor perhaps serving

[17] Cal. Ogburn, "The Pioneer Religious Revival," *Annals of Iowa,* Third Series, XV (1927), 483-506.

[18] *Autobiography of Andrew D. White,* I, 405 .

[19] Sweet, *Revivalism in America,* 128.

as his own evangelist, as he preached in his own church every night for six or eight weeks between January and Easter.[20] Among New England Congregationalists, moreover, revivalism continued as a part of the church's activities, eloquent temperance evangelists sometimes attracting crowds that filled even the galleries and aisles of the meeting houses.[21]

The colleges continued to enjoy "lively revivals" although not of the excessively emotional variety. At Amherst College the last of the "great revivals" among the students took place in 1866. Yet, in 1882 the President of Amherst reported to the board of trustees that the chief blessing of the year had been "a deep and pervasive religious revival, the whole college" seemingly being lifted to higher moral and religious action.[22]

At Ann Arbor, seat of the University of Michigan, during the winter of 1874, the largest university lecture room was filled to capacity every evening for a religious meeting. At the same time the city churches held five union prayer meetings daily (for ladies, business men and other groups) with union preaching service every night.[23]

At Wooster College in Ohio, President Archibald A. E. Taylor found in 1873 that over a fourth of the students of that Presbyterian school were not professing Christians. Therefore, he instituted regular four o'clock conference meetings on Sunday afternoons to discuss the problems of Christian living. Soon regular evening prayer meetings were held in the President's home, and after two weeks, a large group of students united with the Church. Similar revivals of a restrained type were held there in 1876 and annually thereafter.[24]

At Trinity College (more recently Duke University) in North

[20] Luther Allan Weigle, "The Religious Education of a Protestant," in Ferm, ed., *Contemporary American Theology* (N. Y., 1932-3), II, 312-3.

[21] Eugene W. Lyman, "Christian Theology and a Spiritualistic Philosophy," in *ibid.*, 105-6.

[22] Thomas Le Duc, *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College 1865-1912* (N. Y., 1946), 19-34.

[23] Louise Fargo Brown, *Apostle of Democracy: the Life of Lucy Maynard Salmon* (N. Y., 1943), p. 63.

[24] Lucy L. Notestein, *Wooster of the Middle West* (New Haven, 1937), 118-20.

Carolina, outstanding preachers were usually secured to lead the annual revivals at that Methodist College, but sometimes President John Carlisle Kilgo served as the preacher, as in 1898. In 1896, the President reported that the college had experienced a wonderful revival, nearly every student having been converted and joining some Protestant church.[25]

Outside the colleges, revivals also continued to be held and were not without constructive results. Thus, Jacob Riis, famed Danish-American journalist, and author of *How the Other Half Lives*,[26] was converted during the 1870's at a Methodist revival in the old Eighteenth Street Church in New York City. He at once determined to be a minister, but the preacher firmly insisted that Riis's true mission was to a world that needed the "consecrated pens" of Christian newspapermen. "Then and there I consecrated mine," he later related, as he declared that scarcely a day of his life had passed during which he had not thought of the high ideal to which he aspired.[27]

The commanding figure in evangelism in the United States before the Civil War had been Charles Grandison Finney, a native of Connecticut and a handsome, intense individual who had gone to the newly established Oberlin College in the 1830's to help raise up a race of preachers filled with the zeal of the spirit. He himself was a preacher much in demand for many years, and until his death in 1875 was considered "the national dean of evangelists." By this time, itinerant evangelists with elaborate organization techniques had become the order of the day. Among them were William Taylor, "California Street Preacher," who specialized in Bible reading; Absalom B. Earle, who minimized denominational differences so as to be termed the "Union Evangelist"; Edward Payson Hammond, a pioneer in the somewhat sensational meetings for "Men Only" and "Women Only"; Mrs. Maggie Van Cott, often designated the first woman preacher licensed by the Methodist Episcopal

[25] Paul N. Garber, *John Carlisle Kilgo, President of Trinity College, 1894-1910* (Durham, N. C., 1937), 293.
[26] (New York, 1890).
[27] Riis, *The Making of An American* (N. Y., 1901), 85-6.

Church; and three who came from Great Britain, Henry Varley, Henry Moorehouse, and George C. Needham.[28]

The outstanding professional evangelist of the generation after 1865 was Dwight L. Moody who gave up a business career in Chicago to devote his whole time to "soul-winning" and achieved conspicuous success both in Britain and in America. For over thirty years, until his death in 1899, he carried on intensive campaigns in the large cities from Boston to San Francisco. Conservative in theology, literal in his Scriptural interpretation, he was often not only uneloquent but definitely ungrammatical. A younger generation, moreover, might raise the sophisticated question as to whether Moody was less interested in bringing souls to God than in getting them to enter into "a bargain" with the Deity in the interest of personal salvation.[29] Yet, Moody possessed certain qualities which brought thousands of persons night after night to his services. His son recalled that at one series of meetings the father spoke two hundred and eighty-five times to audiences averaging over seven thousand.[30] Part of Moody's power was due to his great love of people; his thorough sincerity; his mastery of the homely, concrete illustration; his perfect sense of that which would interest his audience; and his ability to make the Bible a reservoir of power and comfort for a generation thoroughly acquainted with the sacred pages.[31]

Furthermore, he never ranted, never created an atmosphere of unrestrained emotionalism, never resorted to the use of the mourner's bench. Indeed, the decorum maintained was not different from that of a conservative church. No finger of scandal, moreover, was ever seriously pointed in his direction, and

[28] William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (N. Y., 1959), 17. This volume is a mine of carefully analyzed material based upon tireless research. Some scholars consider it to be not really friendly to the permanent results of evangelism. Review by Edwin S. Gaustad in *The Journal of Religion*, XL (April 1960), 146-7.

[29] W. W. Fenn, in *The New England Quarterly*, I (April 1928), 263.

[30] Paul D. Moody, *My Father* (Boston, 1938), 124.

[31] For the revivalism of the period, see Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact on Religion in America* (Boston, 1958).

he was clearly not a financial self-seeker, as he refused to take the proceeds of his work but turned them over for the development of the Northfield Schools, which he founded.[32]

In 1873 Moody persuaded Ira David Sankey, an employee of the federal Internal Revenue Department, to serve as a singing evangelist with him. Though Sankey had scant music training, his strong baritone voice, his vivid expression as he accompanied himself on a small reed organ, and his shrewd sense of the dramatic, enabled him to move great audiences in a profound way. His *Gospel Hymns,* published in many editions, were filled with contagious melody, sometimes pathetic, sometimes stirring, and with climactic catch-words and choruses.[33] Among the best known of his own melodies were those for the revival hymns, "There Were Ninety and Nine" and "Beneath the Cross of Jesus."[34]

Illustrative of the Moody and Sankey revivalistic efforts were those associated with the meetings which began at the Hippodrome, New York City, February 7, 1876. Two halls holding seven and four thousand persons were filled, with several thousand others standing outside. It was reported that the "audience represented the very best elements of the city's population." At the larger hall, distinguished New York ministers of various denominations were on the platform, and there was a choir of twelve hundred voices. After prayer by Bishop Janes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Sankey sang, "Hold the Fort," with the congregation joining in the chorus. Then Moody spoke with great effectiveness, basing his discourse on First Corinthians, Chapter I, Verse 27. The smaller meeting was addressed by a leading evangelical-minded Episcopal clergyman, Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, Jr.[35]

During the meetings, as many as twenty to twenty-five thousand persons attended on a single day. The New York series

[32] Gamaliel Bradford, *Dwight L. Moody* (New York, 1927); *D.A.B.,* XIII, 103-106.

[33] Moody, *My Father,* 122-130; *D.A.B.,* XVI, 352-3.

[34] Sankey's voice and strength tired as the years passed, and during the latter part of Moody's life, the two men worked together less often.

[35] *Harper's Weekly,* Feb. 26, 1876.

closed on April 19, after about $135,000 had been raised during the closing days for the New York Y.M.C.A.[36]

In the fall of the same year, a similar Moody-Sankey revival opened in Chicago in a tabernacle erected in an open space in Monroe Street. The building seated 4500 on the main floor and 2900 in the gallery, with the platform accommodating three hundred ministers and three hundred choir people. Seven thousand persons attended the initial meeting on Sunday, October 1, at 8 A.M., when, following an opening prayer by the pastor of the fashionable First Congregational Church, Moody preached. Using the text, "Jesus said, Take ye away the stone," he urged his hearers to rid themselves of whatever unfitted them for useful endeavor. At the afternoon meeting the overflow crowds would have filled many ordinary church edifices if they had been available.[37]

In Boston, early in 1877 the interest in Moody's meetings there was so great that excursion trains were run from Massachusetts towns and even from Rhode Island.[38] At this time Frances Willard for a while conducted the special meetings for women with the privilege of carrying on her temperance activities as time permitted. Moody, however, emphatically objected to her sharing the same platform with Mrs. Mary Livermore, a Unitarian, and by September Miss Willard had resigned, deeming Moody's views much too narrow.[39]

Moody spent the fall and winter of 1877-8 in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, generally remaining about a month in one community.[40] For many weeks he held meetings at Hartford and then at New Haven in Connecticut in the spring of 1878. Special working men's meetings were held at the New Haven Railroad shops and at a large carriage factory. In both of these cities the enthusiasm aroused was so great that, after Moody and Sankey departed, plans called for another

[36] *Ibid.*, Mar. 4, May 6, 1876.
[37] *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1876.
[38] *Ibid.*, March 31, 1877.
[39] Mary Earhart, *From Prayers to Politics* (Chicago, 1944), 156.
[40] *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 20, Nov. 10, Dec. 29, 1877.

evangelist-song leader team (George F. Pentecost and George Stebbins) to follow immediately.[41]

The popularity of the Moody-Sankey revivals continued year after year, and in the very month of the Bryan-McKinley presidential election of 1896, they were welcomed by great crowds at the Cooper Union and Carnegie Hall, New York City.[42]

A revivalist who was especially popular in the South was the Reverend Samuel P. Jones, a native of Alabama who had grown to manhood in Georgia. The son of a successful lawyer, he had likewise entered that profession but had become a dissipated gambler. At his father's death bed he had repented, and soon thereafter, in 1872, he had become a Southern Methodist circuit rider in Northern Georgia. Thoroughly acquainted with the homely dialect of the region, he employed it with unusual wit and humor to exert great influence throughout the South. For the people of that time and place, especially effective were such of his sayings as, "What is culture worth, if it is but the whitewash of a rascal?"; "I cannot bribe God's Grand Jury, nor defy the Court that tries me at the last day"; and, "Some men believe they have backbone, when it is nothing but a cotton string run up their backs." He carried with him from place to place a large tent which accommodated two or three thousand people.[43]

His efforts were not confined to the South, for he conducted large meetings in cities like Brooklyn and Cincinnati. In the latter city, in 1886 the crowds were so large that the services had to be moved from Trinity Methodist Church to Music Hall, the capacity (6000) of which in turn proved inadequate.[44]

His messages included familiar denunciations of card playing, dancing, and Sabbath breaking, as well as drunkenness and vice, but much of his effectiveness was due to his concrete directness. Thus, he listed the "worst Sabbath-breaking places in the country. . . . San Francisco, first; New Orleans—the very cesspool of hell itself, second; Cincinnati, third."[45]

[41] *Ibid.*, March 25, 1878.
[42] *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1896.
[43] *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1886.
[44] Rev. Sam P. Jones, *Sermons and Sayings* (Cincinnati, 1886), 4.
[45] *Ibid.*, 287.

Although Moody himself died in 1899, evangelistic services of the Moody-Sankey type were somewhat popular long after the turn of the century. More boisterous revivals characteristic of earlier days, were definitely on the wane, although not unknown, especially in the South. As the years of the nineteenth century had come to a close and frontier conditions had largely passed away, life had become more disciplined, and unrestrained emotional expression became rather suspect among persons of education and culture. Indeed, an Episcopal dean later declared that during this period, accessions to the Episcopal Church were due in large part to the desire of many to escape the excitement of revivals.[46]

Yet, even Episcopal churches found it desirable to institute special services which endeavored to focus the mind, emotions, and will of men and women on the spiritual life. Seeking to avoid the excitement of revivals, Advent Missions (in the Advent season), retreats, and "quiet days" were observed. With the announced intention of bringing to human hearts "a realization of the presence of God," over twenty Episcopal churches in New York City in 1885 began holding three to six services daily and continuing for from ten to sixteen days. Three Anglican clergymen crossed the Atlantic to assist.[47]

Somewhat similarly, in the Catholic Church, in a single year (1891) six Paulist Fathers were actively engaged in holding "missions" in parishes to which they were invited by the parish pastors, and many other congregations heard mission sermons by Jesuits, Dominicans, and others.[48]

In 1876, the Day of Prayer for Colleges prompted a religious revival at Princeton University, over one hundred conversions being reported.[49] One present-day historian asserts that the religious revivals, in the New England colleges at least, were already a "cultural lag" in the 1870's and 1880's, though the fact was not apparent even in 1890. Revivalists like Moody,

[46] George Hodges, *Henry C. Potter* (N. Y., 1915), 183.
[47] *Harper's Weekly,* Nov. 28, Dec. 19, 1885; *The Independent,* Jan. 21, 1886.
[48] *The Independent,* July 23, 1891. The Paulist Fathers were particularly active in seeking conversions to Catholicism of those of high and low estate.
[49] *Harper's Weekly,* Feb. 26, 1876.

Russell H. Conwell, Henry Drummond and B. Fay Mills appeared at Amherst under the sponsorship of the college church, but did not meet with the success known before 1866. The decline was due partly to the influence of the Civil War, partly to the fact that emotional evangelism had never been wholly congenial to the Puritan tradition, partly because the optimism of the time did not emphasize the sinfulness of man, and partly because newer intellectual trends were questioning some of the bases of the old evangelism.[50] In addition, as wealth came to the colleges, fraternities arose which emphasized romantic ideas of a "gentleman's honor" rather than a pious quest for release from sin.

By 1895, moreover, with a developing interest in social and economic evils, a new type of evangelist who sought to win the younger generation by a greater emphasis on saving the social order, as well as the individual, had appeared. In this area, Benjamin Fay Mills, ordained in the Congregational Church, was especially notable.[51]

In the Middle West, Oberlin College which had earlier been saturated with a seriousness of purpose that might now seem almost oppressive had slowly yielded to changing tendencies. In 1868, the famed Charles Finney, who earlier, as President of Oberlin, had made revivals an integral part of the life of the college, lamented that Oberlin graduates, even those preparing to be ministers, no longer seemed to be filled with "the power of the Holy Ghost."[52]

At the College of Emporia (Kansas), William Allen White, who had been influenced by Emerson's "Self-Reliance" and by a scientifically-minded student friend, Vernon Kellogg, listened to the famous Moody again and again but resisted conversion in the revival that "shook the school." Accordingly, while White's two roommates prayed each night by the side of the bed, White contented himself with saying his prayers secretly in bed.[53]

[50] Le Duc, *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College,* 34.

[51] McLoughlin, *op. cit.,* 330-337, 345-349.

[52] Robert S. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College* (2 vols., Oberlin, 1943), II, 922.

[53] *Autobiography of William Allen White,* 100-105.

Outside of the colleges, as ordinary church congregations became definitely more prosperous in many communities, there too a sense of sin and the need for repentance often received far less emphasis. Some noted that at large camp meetings no merchants or professional people and few clerks were present but rather the "workers, the failing farmers, and their wives" who simply could not believe that God was just unless there were a Heaven and Hell.[54] Revivals were conducted from year to year, as we have seen, but in the ordinary services of the Church, hymns dealing with the Saviour's blood being shed "for such a worm as I" were less widely used. In their stead, buoyant hymns like "Beulah Land, Sweet Beulah Land" and "What A Friend We Have in Jesus" were apt to be selected.

Indeed, churches like the Methodist, which had placed considerable emphasis on the emotional appeal, by the end of the century were often expressing their feelings in a buoyant friendliness and an easy lack of formality. Even the regular Sunday services of many churches were often of such a nature. Ministers would chattily discuss announcements for the week, would urge more gusto in the singing of hymns, and would express profuse thanks for the efforts of the soloist. Prayers, rarely prepared, often resounded with well-worn conventional phrases. Frequently a spirit of awe was definitely absent from the service, and a friendly, even breezy attitude sometimes treated the Deity with such familiarity that reverence was hardly a part of the atmosphere.[55]

In the meantime, even the attitude of Methodist bishops reflected the changed view toward old-time religion of the most inhibited variety. In 1870, when post-war conditions had resulted in much immorality, the bishops of the Methodist Church South in their Quadrennial Address deplored the current lack of "scriptural holiness" and sought a revival of it. Such "holiness movements" of course generally involved considerable emotionalism, and by 1894 the Southern Methodist bishops, recognizing that their constituents were increasingly averse to

[54] *Ibid.*, 121-2.

[55] Henry Sloane Coffin, "Public Worship," in Cavert and Van Dusen, editors, *The Church Through Half a Century*, 187-8.

excessive public displays of religious enthusiasm, virtually repudiated holiness associations, meetings, and evangelists.[56] Indeed, as early as 1860, the "Free Methodists" had withdrawn from the main Methodist body in the North, partly as a result of agitation over revivalistic perfectionism.

As Methodism—the old rallying ground of revivalism and perfectionism—definitely became more conservative, separate "holiness" and "Pentecostal" groups were formed that later (after the turn of the century) resulted in the formation of the "Church of the Nazarene" and the Pentecostal denominations.[57]

Often even more extreme in their emotional expression were certain small charismatic sects, which claimed gifts of "prophecy" and the ability to speak with tongues. Like the Pentecostal groups, these eventually developed as separate organizations, particularly after 1900.[58]

Very different among religious groups emphasizing personal experience were quiet mystical Friends (Quakers). With them, family worship consisted of silent communion with the Divine Presence. At regular Quaker meetings, only those "moved by the Spirit" rose to speak. Among these people after 1865 there was relatively little tendency for members to literally "quake" with the promptings of the spirit. Rather, they were apt to speak in a manner that inspired the others. Often, however, many were especially influenced by the guileless, radiant faces of the elderly whose very presence seemed to emanate a spirit of goodness.[59]

Other religious groups which refrained from intense emotionalism but which nevertheless stressed the importance of personal experience were some of the newer religious organizations which one writer has termed the "egocentric sects." Embracing Christian Scientists, Divine Scientists, Unity organizations, and New Thought groups they have placed much empha-

[56] Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (Nashville, 1937), 89-90.
[57] *Ibid.*, 92 ff.
[58] *Ibid.*, 29.
[59] William Dudley Foulke, *A Hoosier Autobiography* (N. Y., 1922), 219-221; Rufus M. Jones, "Why I Enroll With the Mystics," in Ferm, *Contemporary American Theology*, I, 192-3.

sis in practice on "physical comfort, personal exhilaration" and release from "pain, disease, and ennui." Yet, to many who had real or imaginary ailments, Christian Science brought a quiet serenity, and numerous cures from diseases of varied descriptions were claimed by devotees of the new faith. Orthodox clergymen vehemently denounced the Christian Science approach as basically like that of "pagan sorcerers," as contrary to the Word of God, and as highly injurious to both body and soul. A speaker before the Ohio Medical Association asserted that he had seen Christian Science "relieve pain more speedily than morphine . . . ; and take the sensibility from an eye more quickly than cocain" but that it had been "the cloak for immorality" and had "killed people and ruined families."[60] Christian Science apologists came to assert that it was the legitimate offspring of Transcendentalism and had pragmatically justified itself by its works. Probably a fairly balanced contemporary estimate was that of John H. Denison, Divinity Professor at Williams College, who asserted:

> Christian Science is a legitimate thing: it is proper enough to explore reverently the laws of mental causation revealed in the Bible and in faith. God gave us our faculties, and doubtless He meant us to use them thus, but no result thus attained can put a man on a par with Christ or His apostles.[61]

Another group, of lesser importance before 1900 than afterwards, has been the esoteric sects, espousing mystical experience available only to the initiated. Including Theosophists, Vendantists, the Bahai, and Spiritualists (the latter group perhaps more important relatively before 1900 than later), many were closely akin in philosophy to Hinduism.

(c) A third large group of religious organizations placed a

[60] Clark, *The Small Sects*, 29. The quotations, from Rev. R. C. H. Lenski of Capital Divinity School and Dr. Charles A. L. Reed are from Janice V. Cheeley, "A New Path to Walk: A Study of Public Opinion and Propaganda Regarding the Christian Science Movement, 1870-1890." M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1951.

[61] *Andover Review*, VII (March 1887), 257. A philosophical defense of Christian Science definitely favorable to the Society is found in Robert Peel, *Christian Science* (New York, 1958). For further discussion, see Weisenburger, *Ordeal of Faith*, 291-295.

primary emphasis on intellectual or doctrinal matters. Orthodox in viewpoint, they generally placed great weight upon the belief that the Bible is "the infallible rule of faith and practice," with the corollary that a correct interpretation of it is necessary to salvation. Accordingly, intellectual considerations had sometimes hardened into meticulous rules and forms. Baptists widely held to the doctrine of adult baptism and commonly refused communion to those who did not share that belief. Some "Primitive" Baptists and Churches of Christ in addition opposed Sunday Schools and missionary societies as unwarranted in Scripture.

Some, like the "United Presbyterians" sang only from the Book of Psalms, shunning all other religious songs as the man-made "devotional compositions of uninspired" persons.[62] "Reformed Presbyterians" likewise employed only the psalms in the musical part of their service; and some of them refrained from voting because of the failure of the United States government to recognize the deity and various religious sanctions.[63]

All Presbyterians placed great emphasis on the highly intellectual Calvinistic system of theology. As late as 1933, a theological professor in perhaps the most noted "liberal" seminary in the United States asserted that "not many systems of thought" have been formulated which (if one acknowledges the initial premises) hold together "in so coherent a whole, or in which the vulnerable Achilles' heel is so hard to find."[64] In 1865 and thereafter, large numbers of those who were leaders among the rank and file of American life believed implicitly in these "initial premises." Accordingly, Sunday after Sunday they listened intently to sermons expounding the doctrine based on such foundations. Thus, William G. McAdoo, as a boy was greatly inspired by the sermons of Dr. Goetchius, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Milledgeville, Georgia. This pastor "was a born orator and a clever dialectician" who enjoyed "a wide

[62] Henry K. Carroll, *Report on Statistics of Churches . . . 1890* (Washington, 1894), 676.

[63] *Ibid.*, 698-9.

[64] John Baillie, "Confessions of a Transplanted Scot," in Vergilius Ferm, ed., *Contemporary American Theology*, II, (N. Y., 1933), 35.

reputation as a powerful preacher," for he knew well "how to make his points with logic as well as emotion."[65] Similarly, Edwin A. Alderman, later the distinguished president of the University of Virginia, recalled how as a boy he was stirred by the vigorous sermons of Dr. Joseph Wilson, father of Woodrow Wilson, and long pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Wilmington, North Carolina. There, Alderman subsequently asserted, "I had my first perception that beauty and music and power to move even young hearts lay in the English tongue when fitly joined to substantial thought and serious eloquence."[66]

Congregationalists had followed the same basic doctrinal approach as the Presbyterians, but among them a marked departure from some of the time-honored doctrines became increasingly noticeable between 1865 and 1900. A young man in a small Illinois town might attend alternately the Congregational and the Presbyterian churches (since his father belonged to the former and his mother to the latter) and see little difference between them, and the same young man might find his doctrinal standards gradually changing from fundamentalist dogma to liberal theological theism.[67] Accordingly, the old-fashioned doctrinal sermon became less acceptable to many church-goers. Thus, in 1868, Senator Justin S. Morrill of Vermont wrote to his wife from Washington that two such sermons on a Sunday were probably pretty "tough" for their son to endure in the old Vermont Congregational Church, especially since the indoctrination apparently was "not very attractive either for matter or manner."[68]

(d) During the same period Unitarians likewise stressed the intellectual approach to religion but in doctrinal position they had moved so far from fixed standards that to many of the orthodox they seemed to be rationalistic in viewpoint and to

[65] *Crowded Years: The Reminiscences of William G. McAdoo* (Boston, 1931), 21.

[66] Dumas Malone, *Edwin A. Alderman* (N. Y., 1940), 10.

[67] William K. Wright, "The Recovery of the Religious Sentiment," in Ferm, *Contemporary American Theology*, II, 344-5.

[68] William B. Parker, *The Life and Public Services of Justin S. Morrill* (Boston, 1924), 356.

have discarded almost completely the idea of revelation. Orthodoxy, among Unitarians, according to one observer, came to be rather like the "soundness of a legal decision that depends not upon statute but upon common law."[69] During the latter nineteenth century, moreover, the trend of Unitarian teaching (always highly intellectual) moved further away from the older dogmas. Something of the change may be noted in the preaching of two of the leaders of the church in the years after 1865. Among conservative Unitarians was the noted Henry W. Bellows, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of New York City, beginning in 1839. He frequently surprised his congregation with some theological heresy,[70] and when he emphasized spiritual as opposed to material values, the term "spiritual" meant largely the influence of the intellect. Yet, Unitarians like Bellows were sometimes disturbed by reports of sermons by other Unitarians such as Octavius B. Frothingham of the Third Unitarian Society of New York (as conservative Unitarians had been distressed by the discourses of Theodore Parker of Boston before his death in 1860). Frothingham was viewed by many as Parker's successor in the leadership of the more unorthodox Unitarianism. One contemporary who considered Parker's vital force superior to that of Frothingham, believed that Parker tended to view the older doctrines of orthodoxy as "pernicious" while Frothingham respected them for the services they had "rendered to earlier generations." The same observer believed that Frothingham "had a much larger bump of reverence and a clearer sense of the continuity of human thought and of human belief."[71] Yet, in some respects, Frothingham was even farther removed from traditional Christianity than Parker, and by 1867 he found himself outside the bounds of the Unitarianism orthodoxy of that day. Even Frothingham's cousin felt that his faith was that of "skepticism."[72]

Some Unitarians continued to be supernaturalists believing

[69] George H. Putnam, *Memories of a Publisher, 1865-1915* (N. Y., 1916), 17-19.

[70] *Dictionary of American Biography,* II, 169.

[71] George H. Putnam, *Memories of a Publisher, 1865-1915,* 17-19.

[72] *Dictionary of American Biography,* VII, 44.

in the miracles and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Such was personally the position of the famed Syracuse, New York pastor, Samuel J. May.[73] By the end of the century Senator George F. Hoar, at the National Unitarian Conference in 1899, asserted that Unitarianism could not be defined but was the belief of those "for whom Faith, Hope, and Charity forever abide; to whom Judea's news are still glad tidings; who believe that one day Jesus Christ came to this earth bearing a Divine message and giving a Divine example."[74]

From such an "easy-going Unitarianism" it was but a step for many like Moorfield Storey, noted Massachusetts liberal, to a sort of humanitarianism into which he carried "many serviceable standards" of his earlier faith and which took the place of a "purely religious faith."[75] Many perhaps, were like Ezra Cornell, founder of Cornell University, who had little faith in dogma but regularly attended the Unitarian Church and found satisfaction in frequently quoting from Alexander Pope's "Universal Prayer":

> Teach me to feel another's woe,
> To hide the fault I see;
> The mercy I to others show,
> That mercy show to me.[76]

Within the Jewish faith, some Reform congregations departed definitely from many of the traditions of their fathers, and a considerable emphasis upon the ethical and the rational was conspicuous in their services. Some individuals indeed were inclined to break so definitely with tradition, that Felix Adler, son of a noted liberal rabbi, led a group of Jews and Christians in the forming of the Ethical Culture Society (1876), "the new religion of morality, whose God was The Good, whose church was the universe, whose heaven was here on earth and not in the clouds."[77] For such, the traditional religious practices were

[73] *Memoir of Samuel Joseph May* (Boston, 1882), 285.

[74] Geo. F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years,* (2 vols., N. Y., 1903), II, 436 ff.

[75] M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *Portrait of an Independent, Moorfield Storey, 1845-1929* (Boston, 1932), 361.

[76] *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White,* I, 327-8.

[77] Henry Morgenthau, *All in A Life-Time* (N. Y., 1922), 95-7.

largely abandoned. While they sought "to advance the science and art of right living" and "to teach the supremacy of the moral ends above all other human ends and interests," they urged the moral law as one having "an immediate authority not contingent on the truth of religious beliefs or of philosophical theories." But, for most Americans the "old altars" of the time-honored churches continued to have far more appeal, and in 1890, there were only four Ethical Cultural Societies with 1064 members in all.[78] Yet, the Ethical Culture organizations had an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. An English visitor who heard Adler speak to more than a thousand persons at a meeting in Chickering Hall, New York, was charmed by Adler's "eloquent enthusiasm" and by the discourse which, "as to ideas," surpassed anything he had ever heard.[79]

[78] H. K. Carroll, *op. cit.*, 765.
[79] *Harper's Weekly*, Mar. 5, 1881.

PART 3

†

The Faith of the Church as a Molder of Morality

CHAPTER IV

Individual Integrity and Conscientiousness

†

THE relation between church-going and morality has not always been evident to disinterested observers of the American scene. Practicing Catholics have often been unsavory Tammany Hall politicians or proprietors of saloons and gambling establishments of unfavorable reputation.[1] Protestants, moreover, such as Daniel Drew, personally a pious Methodist layman, have sometimes been unscrupulous manipulators of financial projects.[2] On the other hand, agnostics have sometimes been known for their sterling integrity and high-mindedness.[3]

Certainly, the faith of the churches, the fellowship there provided, and the active program of good works centered there, commonly gave to men and women a stability, an inspiration, and even an enthusiasm for "the good life" that made them elements of strength in their communities. A recent writer expressed the view that this close relationship of Deity and Duty was never more closely united than in colonial America, for "no such crowds of people, enthusiastically interested in being good ever gravitated to one place before."[4] However that may be, many descendants of such Colonial Fathers and other Americans of widely different antecedents

[1] For bitter opposition on the part of some Catholics to saloon keeping by their coreligionists, see Sister Joan Bland, *Hibernian Crusade* (Washington, 1951), 196-201.

[2] *D.A.B.*, V, 450-51.

[3] Rev. Lyman Abbott paid tribute to one such neighbor, E. A. Matthiessen, of Danish birth. *Reminiscences* (Boston, 1914), 348.

[4] Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living* (N. Y., 1948), 1 ff.

were personifications of conscientiousness in private and public life.

The efforts of the churches in this direction were well expressed by Washington Gladden, apropos of "The Christian's Calling":

> That is a most important service which we render to our neighbors when we set before them an example of integrity, of purity, of faithfulness to every obligation, of inflexible adherence to the truth; and thus by life as well as by precept endeavor to lead them in wisdom's ways. . . .

Preachers in the Catholic Church often expressed a similar emphasis as many followed in the spirit of Father Isaac Hecker, founder of the Paulist order, who believed that "practical religion consists in the sanctification of everyday life" by conscientious performance "of the common duties of life with an eye to God."[5]

Certainly many thousands of Americans earnestly sought to demonstrate their sincere devotion to religious ideals. When Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, a Congregationalist, endeavored to show what Jesus would do in contemporary situations, the resulting book, *In His Steps* (1898), at once became a best seller. Sheldon himself tried to show how a newspaper should be run on Christian principles, and in March 1900, assumed for a week the direction of the *Topeka Capital*.[6]

The ideals here suggested were at least partially realized in many lives. Of countless examples, only a few representative ones, taken almost at random, can be given. For many, the task was lightened by the relative simplicity of life and its values. A long-time professor of English relates how, as a boy in a Methodist home in New Hampshire, God as revealed to mankind through the Bible seemed as real as one's own parents, and a rounded philosophy of life with a reliable standard from which to fix values was the result.[7]

[5] Gladden, *The Christian Way* (N. Y., 1877), 43; Walter H. Elliott, *Life of Father Hecker* (N. Y., 1891); *Catholic World*, LXXXIII (June, 1906), 356-7.

[6] *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 3, Aug. 5, 1900.

[7] *Penn State Yankee: The Autobiography of Fred L. Pattee* (State College, Pa., 1953), 66.

Robert C. Winthrop, long an active leader in political and economic life, was a Massachusetts Episcopalian whom *The Congregationalist* in 1889 termed "one of the most loyal, humble, and consistent Christian men among us."[8] After his death it was said that, "moderation, temperance, self-control, the daily restraint, whether in body, mind, or spirit, of passion and lawless excess, or indeed of excess within the law" were the guiding principles of his private and public life, and that one of the sources of his strength had been the "services of the Episcopal Church."[9]

A New England Congregational minister, who as a bachelor lived for two years in the home of a family of the church in Manchester, New Hampshire, later testified that these members never mentioned others of the congregation except in terms of esteem. They were, moreover, "in their private lives, so calm and strong, so full of public spirit, so brave in sorrow, so clear of mind in things temporal and spiritual" that their lives daily testified to the vitality of the Christian faith.[10]

A recent biographer tells us that the life of John Bigelow, leading publicist and one time minister to France, can be understood only as one bears in mind his religious convictions based essentially on "Biblical standards of faith and conduct."[11] Practically, this meant a subordination of egoistic impulses to larger purposes, as his youthful ambition to attain renown and money earned through socially useful means became transformed into a desire "to serve God by serving his fellows."[12]

Such a high sense of duty often manifested itself in the making of important decisions. When James B. Angell was offered the Presidency of the University of Michigan in 1869, his father-in-law, Alexis Caswell, pointed out to him that his decision in the matter ought not to be "a question of mere pleasure or mere preference," but one of God's will and of where one

[8] Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop* (Boston, 1897), 336.

[9] *Harvard Graduates' Magazine,* Mar. 1895, quoted in *ibid.*, 332.

[10] William J. Tucker, *My Generation: An Autobiographical Interpretation* (Boston, 1919), 66 note.

[11] Margaret Clapp, *Forgotten First Citizen: John Bigelow* (Boston, 1947), 93.

[12] *Ibid.*, 335.

might accomplish most, "for Christ, the Church, and the world."[13]

When Samuel M. Breckinridge, a St. Louis judge and influential Presbyterian layman, died suddenly on the floor of the Presbyterian General Assembly in Detroit in May 1891, a national magazine commented that no public meeting in St. Louis had been complete without his genial smile and graceful wit, but that his life was chiefly what he *was* rather than what he did. A real Christian gentleman, he was one to whom the humblest came "for counsel, the strongest for encouragement," as "rich and poor, white and black, every class in the community, knew, honored, and loved him."[14]

Similarly, both Horace Binney and Horace Binney, Jr., prominent lawyers in Philadelphia, had a vital impact upon their home city. Of the former it has been said, "His devotion to principle, his sincerity, and his fearlessness in the discharge of his duty, combined to give him a prestige and influence in Philadelphia which during the latter part of his life was unique."[15] When the son died, one who knew him well referred to him as nearly one's "ideal of a churchman and a gentleman," for there was never a better, purer, more public-spirited person, carrying the highest sense of religious obligation into every detail of daily life.[16]

Edward A. Ross, noted sociologist, later related how as a boy he was an orphan with a modest legacy. A taciturn Presbyterian lawyer, Alexander Campbell, was appointed his guardian and looked after his interests for thirteen years without charging a cent and eventually turning everything "in good shape" over to him as he became a young man. As time went on, Ross tells us, he realized his good fortune in having been shielded by "God-fearing" people of refined ways.[17]

In nearly every community there were similar men whose

[13] *From Vermont to Michigan, Correspondence of James Burrill Angell, 1869-1871,* ed. by Wilfred B. Shaw (Ann Arbor, 1936), 117.
[14] *Harper's Weekly,* June 13, 1891.
[15] *D.A.B.,* II, 280-282.
[16] Nevins and Thomas, *Diary of George T. Strong,* IV, 274.
[17] Edward A. Ross, *Seventy Years of It: An Autobiography* (N. Y., 1936), 2-5.

professions of religious faith were matched by lives of unquestioned integrity. Two examples of thousands, long since forgotten, were John Stephenson of New Rochelle, who had built the first omnibus used in New York City (1831) and the first street car used there (1832). In 1890 he was still in the business, as head of the largest street-car manufacturing concern in the United States. When over eighty years of age, he maintained his great interest in Sunday School work, and in the business world his name was a "synonym for honesty" wherever he was known.[18] During the same period, William C. Martin, head of his own New York printing firm for more than half a century, was an active member of Madison Square Presbyterian Church and was widely known "for his uniform honesty and kindly treatment of his employees."[19]

The conscientious regard of churchmen for others was indeed widespread, and some of this concern manifested at an earlier time, bore rich fruits in post Civil War years, as for example in the life of Alexander H. Stephens, renowned Southern leader. All his life he was of fragile physique, and he frequently suggested that whatever service he rendered to his generation would have been wholly impossible, if in the midst of one discouragement after another during his boyhood, various Presbyterian leaders of his home town had not given him unfailing encouragement and support.[20]

Such concern often involved the highest personal sacrifice. Thus, in 1870 a young cleric at Trinity Episcopal Church, New York, Rev. Alexander Davidson, on leave because of ill health, had heard of yellow fever among the soldiers stationed on Governor's Island. Returning to his post, he was diligent in attending the sick and the dying and became himself a victim of the disease.[21]

Perhaps the essential strength of the best exemplars of Chris-

[18] *Harper's Weekly,* March 8, 1890.
[19] *Ibid.,* May 16, 1891.
[20] Rudolph R. Von Abele, *Alexander H. Stephens* (N. Y., 1946), 31-33.
[21] Nevins and Thomas, *Diary of George T. Strong,* IV, 314-15; *Quarter of A Millenium: Trinity Church, 1697-1947,* ed. by E. Clowes Chorley (Philadelphia, Pa., 1947), 71.

tian faith and practice was never better illustrated than in the life of Mrs. Eleanor J. W. Baker, a prominent Dorchester, Massachusetts Congregationalist. In the decade before the Civil War she had found herself a rather lonely widow of wealth (her husband having been the manufacturer of the well-known Baker's chocolate). Within a relatively short time tragedy had struck with unrestrained fury in her life, as she had been bereft of her husband, of the last of her four children, and of a younger brother (who had lived in the home), her last close relative. Unembittered by the cruelty of fate to her, she determined to turn this "chastening of the Lord" into a triumph of good works. For over thirty years her stately residence was open with generous hospitality, not only to persons of distinction from near and far, but also to the weary and heavy-laden, —teachers, missionaries, overworked women, or those who needed a haven of rest for a season. Unstintingly she gave of her "time, strength, patience and remembrance," especially to help people to help themselves by providing some means and opening up opportunities for those who had seemed to be stumbling over the hard places of life.[22]

If some persons of high social or economic position felt no such concern for the unfortunate, and if some were considered less than scrupulous in many affairs of business, others demonstrated conduct worthy of emulation. Thus, Edward Payson Roe, Presbyterian minister, who wrote best-selling, inspirational novels of limited literary merit like *Barriers Burned Away* (1872) was one whose personal relationships were always "kindly, helpful, and decent." These qualities were severely tested but not impaired in 1882, when his brother, whose notes he had endorsed, defaulted. The author had to go into bankruptcy and sell his copyrights at auction, but he uncomplainingly took his responsibilities seriously and eventually paid his brother's creditors in full.[23]

In 1899 much attention was attracted in Chicago to the fact that Mrs. Cyrus McCormick and her daughter, Mrs. Emmons

[22] Benjamin W. Bacon, *Theodore T. Munger* (New Haven, 1913), 105-108.
[23] *D.A.B.*, XVI, 84-85.

Blaine, had filed schedules in the assessor's office in their home city, showing an unusual amount of personal property. *Harper's Weekly* commented:

"Both ladies are widows, and both are Presbyterians. In both cases the schedules filed represent a conscientious desire to fulfil the requirements of the law"—at some variance from the prevailing trend.[24]

Even in the highest ranges of sophisticated society, the heritage of religious values was thus demonstrated. Not dissimilar was the influence of Mrs. William C. Whitney, daughter of a Cleveland, Ohio capitalist and wife of a business magnate and cabinet officer. As a girl in Cleveland she had been a Sunday School teacher at the Old Stone Presbyterian Church and had written to her fiancé that her devotion to Christ was absolutely essential to her life. After her marriage, in New York she became an Episcopalian, and was one of the distinguished hostesses of her generation.[25] At her death in 1893, the comment was made:

"She was a past-mistress of all social arts. Her tact was flawless. Her courtesy was inexhaustible. Her taste was excellent. A very rich woman, and, like all artists, a lover of splendor and luxury, her expenditures never degenerated into ostentation, nor did her wealth corrupt her judgment of . . . the essential in life. . . .

Never was there a kinder or more generous soul," helping those in need,—some to pupils, some to money, some to sympathy.[26]

The tangible effects of religious inspiration on daily living were not always easy to determine, but in 1877 *The Congregationalist* reported what it considered a graphic example of the effect of the teachings of Dwight L. Moody. A lady, according to this account, was shopping in a Boston dry goods store, intent on purchasing some English laces. After examining what the clerk was showing her, she inquired, "Are these really English laces?" The clerk, somewhat confused, finally stammered, "Yes, ma'am—they were—until Mr. Moody came."[27]

[24] July 15, 1899.
[25] M. D. Hirsch, *William C. Whitney* (N. Y., 1948).
[26] *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 18, 1893.
[27] *Ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1887.

In view of the need for sterling character, especially in an age of troubled values, many looked to the Church's leadership for example and guidance, and often these were to be found in abundant measure. A calm serenity brightened by the glow of a disciplined spiritual light was noted in the character of many a parish priest and ecclesiastic of the Catholic Church. Such attributes were not the monopoly of any one faith. Morgan Dix, eminent rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, New York, was, to those who knew him, a living example of "modesty, gentleness, firmness, and devotion."[28]

When Arthur Brooks, brother of Phillips Brooks and rector of the Episcopal Church of the Incarnation, New York City, died in 1895, the observation was made that he

> . . . inherited from a Puritan ancestry a large measure of the sturdier virtues. It has been justly said of him that his six feet of stature were entirely permeated and alive with conscience.[29]

Clergymen of this type had a compelling purpose to try to bring the blessings of the good life to as many people as possible. Of Charles H. Parkhurst, long influential pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York City, it was said:

> His chief concern has been frankly with the actual lives of his people, that the influence of the church upon them might tend to make them manly and womanly, pure, upright, beneficent, courageous, and in all things wholesome. His sermons . . . were, and are, the plain straightforward, earnest, convinced and convincing talks of a man of high purpose and great intelligence to his fellows on the daily problems of right living. . . .[30]

Of Samuel J. May, pastor at the close of the Civil War of the Unitarian Church, Syracuse, New York, it was observed that he had thoroughly earned Bronson Alcott's epithet, "the Lord's chore boy," as he had labored to win men "to the spirit of true goodness, active benevolence, stern integrity, moral courage."[31]

Even those of extremely liberal philosophical views often

[28] *Ibid.*, May 15, 1897.
[29] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1895.
[30] *Ibid.*, March 31, 1894.
[31] *D.A.B.*, XII, 447-48.

paid tribute to the constructive influence of the Church and its leaders. Thus, John Lind, Swedish-born Populist and Democratic leader in Minnesota, widely known for his broad philosophical tendencies, felt convictions which prompted him to address a Lutheran Church group in Minneapolis in 1896 on "The Church as a Power of Civilization." When a reporter termed this "utter hypocrisy," Lind sued the printing company for libel and was eventually awarded $600.[32]

[32] George M. Stephenson, *John Lind of Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1935), 125-126.

CHAPTER V

Decency in Civic and Political Life

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Sometimes in facing civic, political, and social problems churchmen no doubt have been so committed to certain absolute standards of morality that they have failed to see that their uncompromising positions have jeopardized other values of tremendous consequence. Thus, before the Civil War, many church leaders, sincerely adhering to traditional views of the sanctity of property, failed to see that a defense of the economic interests involved in that institution often wrought havoc with a religious concern for the personal character of those born in bondage. On the other hand, those who hated slavery with a righteous indignation often failed to appreciate that their position was helping to carry the country toward war with its inevitable sacrifice of humane considerations and its not uncommon encouragement of debauchery.[1]

The duty of the informed, conscientious individual in complex situations is often difficult, but the Church at least endeavored to hold aloft standards helpful to constructive decisions that transcended mere expediency and the lure of obvious personal and class advantages.

Doubtless at a time when democratic ideals were finding expression in frontier and immigrant communities, older leaders of aristocratic tendencies were not without reason disturbed by a trend toward licentiousness and an ignoring of traditional religious values. Various tract and missionary societies had sought to teach Biblical truths as a means of checking the "rampant propensities to low and vicious indulgence" and to "enthrone reason and conscience over the depraved appetites of carnality." In the years before the Civil War, pious Protestant

[1] Wilson Smith, *Professors and Public Ethics* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1956), *passim.*

business men had given extensive support to such societies. The influence of such men and organizations continued with force after 1865. Often this meant that a doctrine of Christian Stewardship was emphasized at the expense of criticism of the existing political and social order and of the economic practices by which fortunes were frequently accumulated.[2]

Perhaps even less trustful of the democratic society of the common man were those who saw in the authoritarian dogmatism of the Catholic Church the only sure protection against anarchy. James J. Hill, the western railroad builder, reared a Protestant but married to a Catholic wife, believed that the Roman Church alone provided an authority which the millions of foreigners pouring into the country would "either fear or respect." Hence, he contributed generously for the building of St. Paul's Seminary to train priests, maintaining that the "social views, political action, and moral status" of millions might readily be unrestrained without that "single controlling force, the Catholic Church."[3]

Yet, when a business giant like Hill looked upon a highly disciplined Church as a means of preserving certain "social views" and "guiding political action," many deemed this position a reactionary one for the maintenance of the political and economic status quo.

During a period of transition, however, the Church may have been an influential factor in aiding orderly change and even in avoiding bloodshed. Thus, the Catholic clergy in Pennsylvania took "a fearless and uncompromising" stand against excesses of the Molly Maguires. In the midst of bitter and often violent labor outbreaks in 1877, moreover, it was pointed out that in the large Halstead Street Methodist Church, Chicago, near the scene of the worst rioting, not one member of the congregation was known to have been involved in the affair.[4] But, such illus-

[2] Clifford S. Griffin, "Religious Benevolence As Social Control," *Miss. Valley Historical Review,* XLIV (Dec. 1957), 423-444, and Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick, 1960).

[3] Joseph G. Pyle, *The Life of James J. Hill,* (2 vols., N. Y., 1917), I, 63.

[4] J. Walter Coleman, *The Molly Maguire Riots* (Richmond, 1936), 116, 173; *Harper's Weekly,* Sept. 1, 1877.

trations as these inevitably prompted some to feel that the Church evoked a spirit of complacency even among those who were victims of social and economic injustice. Accordingly, there arose fundamental differences between religious leaders as to the extent to which the Church should depart from a message of individual salvation to seek social and economic change.

Shortly after the Civil War, a noted lawyer and member of the Disciples of Christ, Jeremiah S. Black, who looked upon his role as that of a "Defender of the Constitution and the Ten Commandments," engaged (1866) in a discussion with Rev. Alfred Nevin, Presbyterian clergyman of Philadelphia, on the evils of "political preaching." Black maintained that the Church performed its task when it reformed and transformed individual lives. Hence, it should not ally itself with a government or enter into "a vulgar partnership with politicians."[5]

Certainly, the spiritual efforts of the churches were sometimes vitiated by a too active involvement in politics. The Methodist Church, North, after the Civil War, had become so actively involved with Radical Republicanism that extreme bitterness was aroused, particularly in the South. Southern Methodism then turned almost whole-heartedly to an individualistic Gospel.[6] Hence, in Arkansas in 1890, a Methodist minister who ran for governor on the Republican ticket was suspended from his clerical duties for six months by his bishop for going into politics.[7] In a border state, Kentucky, after 1865 wrangling in Presbyterian congregations over questions which were a legacy of the War "swept over the state, and destroyed the last peaceful refuge of a sorely tried people."[8]

Even on the strictly individualistic level, however, difficulties rose in endeavoring to carry personal standards of morality into the business and political world. Washington Gladden, the well-known clergyman, once related that Salmon P. Chase,

[5] William N. Brigance, *Jeremiah S. Black* (Philadelphia, 1934), 249.

[6] Hunter D. Farish, *The Circuit Ride Dismounts: A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900* (Richmond, Va., 1938).

[7] *Harper's Weekly,* Jan. 17, 1891.

[8] E. Merton Coulter, *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky* (Chapel Hill, 1926), 397.

while governor of Ohio, had always kept a separate stock of stationery and stamps for his own private correspondence and carefully refrained from using those furnished him by the state of Ohio except for strictly official business.[9] Yet, when Chase had become Secretary of the Treasury in Washington, he found it much more difficult to resist the opportunity to use government affairs as a means of advancing his own personal interests. The problem was accentuated by low official salaries in relation to the demands to which cabinet officers were subjected.[10] Gladden, a few years after Chase's death admitted that Chase's integrity which in his early career had been so "illustrious" had "seemed to be somewhat dimmed" in later years.[11]

Part of the difficulty was that in many areas of political and economic life a code of honorable practice had not been developed, and, moreover, the opportunities for large financial gains were so great as to be well nigh irresistible. President Grant, a church-goer and a member of a Methodist family, though not himself a church member, was of such high personal integrity that, in his later years, in the midst of the ravages of incurable cancer, he doggedly persisted in finishing his *Memoirs* that he might pay off heavy personal obligations.[12] Yet, he was amazingly naive in allowing unscrupulous financial pirates to use his good will for their own ends.[13]

Charles Butler, New York lawyer and philanthropist, was one of the founders of Union Theological Seminary. Simple and sincere in his religion, he was a gracious host to distinguished English guests like Matthew Arnold and Charles Kingsley. He was much interested in western railroad development. His devotion to his wife is indicated by his letters to her, often written from Detroit or Indianapolis after perhaps fifteen hours of labor

[9] Washington Gladden, *The Christian Way* (N. Y., 1877), 95.

[10] Thomas G. Belden and Marva R. Belden, *So Fell the Angels* (Boston, 1956), 27 ff.

[11] Gladden, *op. cit.*, 95.

[12] William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant* (N. Y., 1935), 449-452. For Grant's religious views, see John H. Vincent, "The Inner Life of Ulysses S. Grant," *The Chautauquan*, Vol. 30 (Oct. 1899-Mar. 1900), p. 634, and W. E. Woodward, *Meet General Grant* (N. Y., 1928), 369.

[13] Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish* (N. Y., 1936), *passim.*

with uncertain legislators and stubborn officials. Yet, we are told that he represented a remarkable combination "of childlike trust in Providence and shrewd political manipulation."[14]

Roscoe Pound, later an eminent Dean of Harvard Law School, recalled a friend of his father's in the years before 1896 at Lincoln, Nebraska. The friend was one of the leading lawyers of the state and noted for his incomparable integrity and great love of truth and justice in all his private dealings. Yet, all were aware that "as counsel to a great railroad corporation he planned, advised, and was cognizant of all manner of corruption and trickery."[15]

John D. Rockefeller surely was an abstemious, God-fearing, church-going Baptist. Blameless in his family relationships, he was scrupulous in setting aside a portion of his income as "God's Gold" for religious causes.[16] Yet, his business methods seem to have been at times ruthless,[17] and, from the standpoint of some people, even vicious.[18]

In politics there were many like Senator Arthur P. Gorman, unquestioned leader of the Democratic party in Maryland and known to history particularly because his connection with the controversial Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894. Personally he was generous and kindly, and modest to the point of self-effacement. In an age of extravagant materialism he was an abstemious, home-loving, devout Presbyterian.[19] Yet, his connection with legislation which has been generally believed to have favored special interests rather than the public welfare has probably given support to some who have arrived at a cynical interpretation of American history.

James McManes of Philadelphia was a faithful adherent of the Presbyterian Church and one who was extremely generous to the poor. He was of such integrity in his personal dealings that when the People's Bank of which he was President failed

[14] *D.A.B.*, III, 359-60.
[15] Paul Sayre, *The Life of Roscoe Pound* (Iowa City, 1948), 88.
[16] Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller,* (2 vols., N. Y., 1940).
[17] *Ibid., passim.*
[18] Chester M. Destler, "Wealth Against Commonwealth," *American Historical Review,* L (Oct. 1944), 49-72.
[19] John R. Lambert, *Arthur P. Gorman* (Baton Rouge, 1953), 2, 4, 14.

because of actions regarding which he seemingly had no knowledge, he paid over $500,000 to depositors out of his own pocket. Yet, on the community level, he headed a ring which made the trustees of the local gas company practically the dictator of Philadelphia politics.[20]

Daniel Drew, railroad capitalist and speculator, was a very devout Methodist who provided the funds for Methodist churches at Carmel and Brewster, New York, and before his death in 1879, he had given $250,000 to Drew Theological Seminary. Yet, his business manipulations were such that the frenzied chicanery associated with his career has seemed to many to mark a low point in American business morality.[21]

Tammany Hall, generally looked upon as epitomizing during this period the worst in political corruption and the ultimate in effective cooperation with the lawless underworld, was often looked upon as practically a Catholic club.[22] Certainly, church dignitaries who were often uncompromising on many matters of traditional morality were frequently on most cordial terms with Tammany leaders whose policies scandalized sensitive citizens.[23]

The pressures of the time indeed were such that conscientious Protestants, Catholics, Jews—and others—found them almost overpowering. Albert Cardozo, father of the later eminent jurist, Benjamin N. Cardozo, was not only Justice of the Supreme Court of New York but Vice President of the Spanish-Portuguese synagogue and zealous in its various activities. He had been so concerned about religious observances that he considered resigning his new appointment to the New York bench when he learned that it involved work on Saturdays.[24] Yet, he did not have the moral stamina to resist the power of the Tweed Ring. With two other justices, he countenanced many illegal

[20] *D.A.B.*, XII, 138-39.

[21] *D.A.B.*, V, 450-51.

[22] *Harper's Weekly* asserted, Dec. 9, 1876, that the Catholic hierarchy was endeavoring "to make their church a political organization."

[23] Bland, *Hibernian Crusade*, 196-201.

[24] George S. Hellman, *Benjamin N. Cardozo: American Judge* (N. Y., 1940), 10-13. The older Cardozo was reassured by a reply he received from his inquiry directed to the Jewish religious court in London.

naturalizations, most of the new citizens at once supporting Tammany. He, moreover, at the behest of Tweed, sanctioned a receivership for Jay Gould's Erie Railroad, and a subsequent investigation by the Judiciary Committee of the State Assembly prompted Cardozo's resignation. In other ways he had conducted himself in office so as to justify "the verdict of his own days, as that of later times" as one of "malfeasance in office."[25]

The problem was not limited in scope. In 1870, a vestryman of Trinity Episcopal Church, New York City, wrote of his concern over the nomination to the vestry of a judge of the Superior Court. The nominee was a regular churchgoer and a personally admirable individual, but one who certainly had been elevated to the Bench through the approval of the Tweed Ring. This objection, the vestryman felt, was "unanswerable," for the Judge was open "to violent suspicion" of being what no church officer ought to be.[26]

Yet, if many church leaders were seemingly "sinners" who apparently needed the cleansing power of "pure religion and undefiled," there were others who served as towers of incorruptibility during difficult years. Doubtless the role was an easier one when the individual was a farmer, a small businessman, a physician, a lawyer engaged in non-corporation practice, or one whose activities were in effect governed by a type of code which was not subjected to almost impossible strain during the Gilded Era. Central to the problem, no doubt, was the fact that the moral code of an agrarian society had not been implemented to cope with the abuses of an industrialized economic and political order.

Yet, probably that which was said of Levi P. Morton, who served as Vice President of the United States, Governor of New York, and Minister to France, was not uncharacteristic of a host of others. One who knew him well asserted that Morton's Puritan inheritance (he was the son of a Vermont Congregational clergyman) had endowed him with "the uncompromising integrity" which rejects inducements "to be governed by the pass-

[25] *Ibid.*, 11.
[26] Nevins and Thomas, *Diary of George T. Strong*, IV, 283.

ing judgments and changing standards of contemporary morals and constantly refers its problems to the uncorrupted tribunal of the conscience." Such stamina, it was affirmed, served him in good stead in the "years of lax business morals following the Civil War."[27]

Yet, even such a man could not wholly resist the insinuating demands of a party machine, when terrific pressures were exerted upon personally honest officials. Thus, Morton, as governor of New York (1894-96) found it difficult or impossible to resist the determined demands of Boss Thomas C. Platt for patronage. He even yielded to the machine in permitting the revival of abuses in canal administration that had been virtually eliminated many years earlier through the efforts of Samuel J. Tilden. Even a "Puritan in Babylon" did not emerge wholly unscathed amidst the brazen political cynicism of the time.[28]

The hypocrisy and the flagrant corruption of the period have often been stressed, and properly so. A picture of how much more unprincipled and even chaotic might have been the social, political, and economic situation if it had not been for the resistance, often far from totally effective, of many high-minded individuals, had not always been suggested. Yet there were great numbers of such individuals in both high and lowly places, and the Church had often been a potent factor in forming their pattern of behavior.

No individual is wholly constructive in his influence, but perhaps few endeavored more sincerely to do right than Jay Cooke, eminent Philadelphia banker. He was widely known as a pillar of society by his energetic support of the Episcopal Church and other religious organizations and by his extensive reputation for fair dealing in his banking business. So devoted was he to a strict observance of Sunday that he was exasperated when General William T. Sherman, travelling on Lake Erie, landed at Cooke's summer home on the Sabbath.[29] Personally,

[27] Howard C. Robbins in introduction to Robert McElroy, *Levi P. Morton* (N. Y., 1930), x.

[28] David M. Ellis and others, *A Short History of New York State* (Ithaca, 1957), 387-89.

[29] James E. Pollard, *The Journal of Jay Cooke, 1865-1905,* (Columbus, 1935), 132-3.

Cooke would not travel on Sunday, and he expected a careful observance of the day by his partners and employees. He even tried to prevent the operation of Sunday trains on the railroads in which he had heavy investments.[30]

Such attitudes were not aspects of a pious pose. A distinguished biographer affirms that Cooke's deep Christian faith was a basic force in his life, as he trusted in "an all powerful and benevolent Father" and sought sincerely "to worship Him, to keep His commandments, and to treat one's fellow-men as brothers."[31]

Church services were highly important to him. He long taught a Sunday School class and on Sunday evenings conducted a Bible class in his home. He was active in the American Sunday School Union and other similar organizations. In his own home there were family prayers every morning at eight, and guests in the home were supposed to be present for these devotional exercises.

He had a deep sense of social responsibility, accepting unquestionably the lofty concept of the brotherhood of man and its corollary that a man is his "brother's keeper." Accordingly, he gave liberally to individuals and to charitable, cultural, and religious causes.[32]

Cooke had a gift for seeing others as individuals and had a sensitive regard for their feelings, exhibiting an "infinite patience with the weaknesses" of his partners and assistants. Wholly lacking in condescension, he entertained humble employees and weary pastors, as well as distinguished guests, in his home.[33]

One biographer tells us that Cooke "was entirely honest and clear of corrupt intention or disgraceful thought," a man wholly "without guile."[34] Another student of his life asserts that he

[30] Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke: Financier of the Civil War* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1907), II, 494-95.
[31] Henrietta M. Larson, *Jay Cooke: Private Banker* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 192.
[32] *Ibid.*, 190-191.
[33] *Ibid.*, 189.
[34] Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, II, 441, 476.

"adhered with remarkable closeness to the model pattern of the Christian gentleman," as no critic "ever found the least occasion to criticize his private life."[35]

In business affairs he understood and acted on the conviction "that a reputation for character was necessary for a lasting success in banking."[36] The tens of thousands of letters which he wrote to his business associates and received from them reveal the same insistence on adhering to "what he thought to be right." When his associates deviated from prevailing standards of honesty he was severe in his demand for adherence to principle.[37] In a time of extremely low personal and business morality, no clear evidence of the direct purchase of influence by Cooke and his partners has been found.[38] He was not a sophisticated student of ethics where complex problems were involved, but he earnestly struggled to "do right," often against great difficulties, where clear-cut principles were involved. The business community then proceeded on the time-honored basis of *caveat emptor,* and new railroads obviously involved speculative risks.

Under such circumstances Cooke sold bonds with alacrity in railroads far from certain to succeed. His company, furthermore, did grant loans to congressmen or retain them as counsel at times when their favor was sought. The company also contributed to party campaign funds and maintained an active lobby in Washington to advance its interests. Some have criticized Cooke because his firm did not markedly transcend the conventional morality of the time in these matters. Yet, competent students have insisted that to have done so would have been unrealistic and even Utopian, in rejecting "the recognized means of securing action in a rapidly developing country." This would, moreover, have meant that Cooke would have lost business "both profitable to himself and useful to society."[39] Cooke, who believed in a basic, uncomplicated code of right conduct

[35] Larson, *op. cit.,* 192-93.
[36] *Ibid.,* 189.
[37] *Ibid.,* 192-3.
[38] *Ibid.,* 292-93.
[39] *Ibid.*

was probably little troubled by these dilemmas of the moral man in an immoral society.

A somewhat similar business figure, in the field of merchandising rather than banking, was John Wanamaker, merchant prince of Philadelphia and New York. He had served as the first paid Y.M.C.A. secretary in the country. Like Cooke, he was conscientiously devoted to religious and humanitarian causes. He was a teetotaler and a strict Sabbatarian.[40] Like Marshall Field of Chicago, he firmly refused to advertise in any Sunday paper.[41] He was so devoted to his church and gave such enthusiastic support to its Sunday School (Bethany Presbyterian) that when he was Postmaster General (1889-1893), he travelled almost 100,000 miles as he returned to Philadelphia from Washington each week-end to assist in its work.[42]

He also fought vigorously for years against the corrupt Matthew Quay machine in Pennsylvania Republican politics.[43] Like Cooke, his relations with his employees were admirable as he planned means to improve their working conditions and way of life.

Yet, politics constituted a dirty business, and critics have looked upon his raising of large sums for the Republican campaign of 1888 (money which was used by others in scandalous fashion to buy votes in some states) as a far from admirable aspect of his career. His use, as Postmaster General, moreover, of the spoils system in widespread fashion, seemed to reformers to suggest that his strong religious convictions fell short of sensitive ethical insights in the field of politics.[44]

Letters and biographies tell dramatically of many soul-searching episodes in the lives of countless others. One such individual, whose occupancy of the Presidency, ironically enough, partisans had hardly secured through unquestionably democratic and honorable methods, was Rutherford B. Hayes. His Ohio parents were transplanted New Englanders of ele-

[40] Herbert A. Gibbons, *John Wanamaker,* (2 vols., N. Y., 1926), II, 321.
[41] *Ibid.,* II, 323.
[42] *Ibid.,* I, 50-56, 181-184; II, 328.
[43] *Ibid.,* I, 349-365.
[44] *Ibid.,* I, 298 ff.

vated moral principles, and his own life was strongly influenced by the Methodist Church. His voluminous diary reveals an almost too introspective individual, intent on meeting the strictest demands of conscience.[45] When he ran for the Presidency in 1876 an old family friend in Delaware, Ohio refused to vote for him, remarking that Rutherford was "too good a man," hence the evil forces of the day would "murder him."[46] At the same time an old Kenyon College friend, a Texan and a Democrat, told other Southerners that Hayes was the best man among the Republicans, "patriotic, chivalrous, noble and good." And so his administration proved. He was not a great President, but he was, as Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes observed, "a healer of strife," and he earnestly tried to live up to his credo, "He serves his party best who serves his country best."[47]

Another illustration is that of Grover Cleveland, son of a Presbyterian minister, who was elected President in 1884. He was the product of his age, essentially conservative and a follower of the prevailing philosophy of *laissez-faire*. A recent historian tells us that "out of heartfelt conviction he gave to the interests what many a lesser politician might have sold them for a price,"[48] apparently by not adopting something of the New Deal philosophy a generation before the Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Another scholar contends that Cleveland owed his political advancement to his essentially "Bourbon Democracy."[49] Yet, one who was defeated for reelection when he advanced a moderate program of tariff reform and who found himself later foiled by "party perfidy" on the same issue in his later Second Administration can hardly be held greatly responsible for failing to give the country a program for which it was then utterly unprepared.

[45] Chas. R. Williams, ed. *Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes,* (5 vols., Columbus, 1922-1926).

[46] Harry Barnard, *Rutherford B. Hayes and His America* (Indianapolis, 1954), 297.

[47] *Ibid.*, 297 ff.

[48] Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* (N. Y., 1948), 184-85.

[49] Samuel Merrill, *Bourbon Leader: Grover Cleveland and the Democratic Party* (Boston, 1957).

Cleveland's distinguished biographer, Allan Nevins, significantly entitles his work, *Grover Cleveland: Man of Courage.*[50] Certainly, it is easy, after the passing of two-thirds of a century to minimize the fortitude which characterized Cleveland's career as governor of New York and President. This fortitude, however, has been recently recognized by Professor Syrett of Columbia University, who appraises Cleveland's political standards as those of a firm and forthright man who had "a deep-seated sense of right and wrong." Cynics deemed his probity "both old fashioned and naive," but he "never hedged" and rarely compromised, and commonly endeavored to judge the rightness of proposal in arriving at a stand in regard to it.[51]

In his own day, certainly Cleveland's stand as President against protected manufacturers, veterans' lobbies, pork barrel enthusiasts, and other special interests was deemed hardly less than heroic. Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. of Harvard has declared that Cleveland," unhampered by political entanglements," sought to see that "Public office is a public trust" and "worked at his job as had no other President." Monumental difficulties arose, especially in his Second Administration, but Schlesinger maintains that time has revealed him, "whatever his limitations, as a fearless and high-minded executive."[52]

In the late nineteenth century municipal government was commonly an evidence of the utter sordidness which pervaded much of American political life. Here, too, the efforts of church-going Americans to improve the situation were not without constructive results. In local politics, Cleveland himself, as mayor of Buffalo, had endeavored to give the community an administration concerned for the common interest and had won the reputation of "Veto Mayor."[53]

In New York City, Tammany Hall's hold had been a firm one, and in a period of complicated issues and confused morals, difficult to dislodge. Yet, many churchmen fought valiantly for civic

[50] (New York, 1932).

[51] David M. Ellis and others, *op. cit.*, 369.

[52] *Rise of Modern America, 1865-1951* (N. Y., 1951), 78. For reactions to charges against his sex morals, see chapter VI.

[53] Robert McElroy, *Grover Cleveland* (N. Y., 1923), 24-36.

decency. It was a sincere, unostentatious Presbyterian, Samuel J. Tilden, who as governor of New York in the 1870's had eliminated the bipartisan graft of the Canal Ring and had overthrown the notorious power of Boss W. M. Tweed of Tammany Hall.[54] In the first endeavor, he had been ably assisted by John Bigelow, whose life was dedicated to effective religion, and in the second, he was aided by Charles O'Conor, a Roman Catholic of high integrity.[55]

The flight of Boss Tweed to Europe as a result of the exposure of his activities and his later conviction in court, moreover, would have been impossible without the fearless efforts of many others. Outstanding among these was George Jones, who had been a Welsh Baptist but in New York became an Episcopalian. As publisher of the *New York Times* he refused $5,000,000 offered him if he would abandon his crusade against the Tweed Ring.[56]

As Lincoln Steffens has pointed out, the corrupt system was so deeply intrenched that after a time enthusiasm for reform almost inevitably evaporated in cynicism.[57] In New York Tammany Hall gradually staged a come-back. Yet, churchmen did cling to standards of civic honor, not without difficult personal struggles. Occasionally, as in 1890, church leaders opposed Tammany. In that year the Municipal Reform movement was led by Rev. Richard Heber Newton, rector of All Souls' Episcopal Church and a Christian Socialist. About seventy of New York's ministers were active in the effort.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop Corrigan, however, refused to allow his name to be used as a sponsor of the People's Munici-

[54] Alexander C. Flick, *Samuel J. Tilden* (N. Y., 1939), *passim;* David M. Ellis and others, *op. cit.*, 361-64.

[55] *Ibid.; D.A.B.*, XIII, 620-21.

[56] *D.A.B.*, X, 170-71. Thomas Nast, the incomparable *Harper's Weekly* cartoonist, whose drawings were amazingly effective as weapons of reform, was permanently influenced by Catholic ritual and ceremonies, but Catholic bigotry in his native Bavaria and the close connection between the Catholic Church in New York City and Tammany Hall made him a vehement anticlerical. His cartoons opposing Papal Supremacy in 1870-71 were extremely bitter. A. B. Paine, *Thomas Nast: His Period and His Pictures* (New York, 1904), 5-6, 150; *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. 46, Dec. 20, 1902.

[57] *Autobiography* (New York, 1931).

pal League which spearheaded the movement. Indeed, the Roman Catholic Church sometimes used its political influence in New York to enhance its own interests but avoided involvement in political situations, even when corruption was obvious.[58] Tammany fought back vociferously against the reformers and won in the fall elections of 1890. Thereafter the People's Municipal League soon dissolved.

Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, pastor of Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York City, had long been a civic leader and was widely known because "study, travel, and observation" had given his pulpit utterances a gauge and realism definitely above the ordinary. In 1891 he was elected President of the New York City Society for the Prevention of Crime.[59] Taking his responsibilities seriously he at length called the attention of his influential congregation to an alliance of the city administration with organized corruption and crime in the metropolis. In a sermon preached in his church, February 14, 1892 on, "Ye are the salt of the earth" (Matthew 5:13), Parkhurst declared that New York City municipal life was "thoroughly rotten," as its political leaders were "a lying, perjured, rumsoaked, and libidinous lot." This at once became headline news, and Tammany retaliated with ruthless vigor.[60]

Parkhurst rose to the occasion in gathering and presenting affidavits to buttress his assertions. His evidence showed conclusively the widespread operation of illegal open saloons, gambling establishments, and houses of prostitution, protected by the city police. Soon, Parkhurst's name was "known in corners where his sermons had not penetrated."[61] His home life was seriously disturbed by the vindictive attitude of the world of corrupt politics. Yet, for a time a breath of purification entered New York civic life, as the Tammany Hall administration was overthrown in the elections of 1894.[62] E. L. Godkin of the *Nation* thought that Parkhurst deserved "the personal and un-

[58] M. R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (Garden City, 1928), 76.
[59] *Harper's Weekly,* May 30, 1891.
[60] Parkhurst, *Our Fight With Tammany* (N. Y., 1895), 5 ff.
[61] *Harper's Weekly,* March 12, 1892.
[62] *D.A.B.,* XIV, 245.

qualified thanks of all who are fighting for good government in the cities."[63]

In Baltimore, Daniel C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, whose Puritan background had developed in him a vigorous moral sense, led a similar movement in Baltimore.[64] Soon Godkin was predicting that the victory secured in the fall of 1894 would strengthen independent voters and demonstrate how reforms could be accomplished so as to influence the country for decades to come.[65]

Indeed, the spirit did spread elsewhere. In San Francisco in 1894 intrenched political bossism was overthrown, and a Civic Federation with the cooperation of the leading Protestant churches endeavored to establish "clean government." By the next year it was reported, "What may be called the Parkhurst spirit is reflected in greater or lesser reform movements in all our political cities this winter, but nowhere is this so hearty or generally shared as in San Francisco."[66]

In New York, machine politics was as usual highly persistent and resourceful. In time, Richard Croker, head of Tammany Hall, and his henchmen had succeeded in making the city "wide open once more." In October 1898, it was reported that again "vice flourishes openly for a price."[67] Here again the Church endeavored to challenge the evil, as the Diocesan Convention of the Episcopal Church called for an investigation, when in 1900 it was asserted that prostitutes operated even in public school areas.[68]

Elsewhere, churchmen lent valiant support to preserve standards of decency and justice. Theodore Bacon, one of the ablest lawyers in New York state, was known in his home community, Rochester, as a man of "notable integrity and uncommon spirit," which prompted him to ally himself with many an unpopular cause. At his death in 1900, it was suggested that some of his

[63] Rollo Ogden, ed., *Life and Letters of E. L. Godkin*, II, 174 ff.
[64] Fabian Franklin, *The Life of Daniel C. Gilman* (N. Y., 1910), 13-14.
[65] Ogden, ed., *op. cit.*
[66] Julian Ralph, "Reform in San Francisco," *Harper's Weekly*, March 9, 1895.
[67] Franklin Matthews in *ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1898.
[68] *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1900.

zeal for righteousness came directly from his father, Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, a leader of American Congregationalism.[69]

On the national level, moreover, churchmen at times felt impelled to speak out against easygoing and reprehensible political practices. One of the most effective individuals in this respect was George William Curtis, an active Unitarian and a cultivated gentleman of sterling integrity.[70] For a quarter of a century he fought "an unceasing, unyielding and often thankless battle for the merit system" in the national government.[71] The Civil Service Reform movement, however, owed its vitality especially to the courageous and persistent efforts of Dorman B. Eaton who gave up his law practice to serve the cause. He was a prominent Unitarian and at his funeral two noted Unitarian ministers officiated.[72] Some clergymen who generally avoided political issues, as was the case of Lyman Abbott in his early career, came out strongly against the excesses of the spoils system.[73]

One of the notable sermons on Civic Righteousness in the history of the United States was that delivered by Bishop Henry C. Potter of the New York Diocese of the Episcopal Church on the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of Washington as President. This came early in 1889, just as the new Benjamin Harrison Administration (under a personally devoutly religious man) seemed to be giving jobs and favors to self-seeking politicians in a wholesale manner. Bishop Potter noted the prevailing conception of the National Government as a huge machine, existing "mainly for the purpose of rewarding partizan service" and contrasted it with earlier standards of statesmanship.[74]

Godkin of the *Nation* wrote that he deemed Potter's sermon "the bravest, timeliest, and most effective piece of pulpit ora-

[69] *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1900.

[70] Gordon Milne, *George William Curtis and the Genteel Tradition* (Bloomington, Ind., 1956), 233.

[71] Charles E. Merriam, *American Political Ideas* (N. Y., 1923), 275.

[72] *D.A.B.*, V, 607-608; *New York Times*, Dec. 24, 1899.

[73] Ira Brown, *Lyman Abbott* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 63.

[74] Henry C. Potter, *The Scholar and the State* (N. Y., 1897), 38.

tory" that had been heard for a generation. He felt that if it hurt anyone, such a person was indeed "very sick." The noted editor predicted that it would "loosen thousands of clerical tongues all over the country, and rescue many a grieving layman from the slough of despond," for this seemed to be "the ring of one manly voice at the right moment" when even brave men were tempted to surrender to a spirit of defeatism.[75]

Often no doubt it was far easier to preach conscientious public service than to practice it. Yet, there were probably many instances similar to one associated with the life of Rev. John H. Eastman, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Pottsville, Pennsylvania after 1895. He was one who had sermonized on civic responsibilities, and when a vacancy occurred in the Borough Council, a committee of townsmen called upon him to accept an appointment to fill the unexpired term. It seemed to be a case of "put up or shut up." The elders of the church urged him to accept, so he did so and was later to serve a term in his own right.[76] Somewhat similarly, Washington Gladden, Columbus, Ohio Congregationalist minister who had long preached the Social Gospel, in 1900 was elected to the city council.[77]

In the Roman Catholic Church a basic difference during the period between many conservative and liberal priests was related to fact that conservatives stressed "priestly" functions concerned with church ceremonials and activities while liberals emphasized also the "active virtues" such as found expression in fighting corruption and venality in the social order. In 1889, Father Walter Elliott, a noted Paulist priest, had urged Catholics to "hate bribery and corruption in office, trading in votes, and all the vices of low-grade politics." He called especially for a righteous hatred of intemperance and saloons, and he found no one more worthy of contempt than the "Catholic huckster."[78]

Many priests and Catholic laymen were apparently far in advance of Archbishop Corrigan of New York in their opposition to Tammany's support of the saloon interest in 1895. A mass

[75] Rollo Ogden, ed., *op. cit.*, II, 184.
[76] Claude M. Fuess, *Joseph B. Eastman* (N. Y., 1952), 14-17.
[77] *D.A.B.*, VII, 326.
[78] James H. Moynihan, *Life of John Ireland* (N. Y., 1953), 18.

meeting, attended largely by Irish-American Catholics in New York in August of that year, hissed a Tammany political leader who spoke against the Sunday closing of the saloons. A leading newspaper hailed this as an event of great "moral and political significance," demonstrating in an extraordinary way Catholic sentiment against Tammany's efforts to keep the saloons open on Sunday. In the midst of the demonstration Archbishop Corrigan arose to insist that the expression of dissapprobation should not be repeated.[79]

Yet, Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, an arch-leader of the Catholic "liberals," was ever ready to don his long frock coat and slouch hat and support every civic enterprise interested in law enforcement, temperance, opposition to prize fights, or kindred enterprises. He was, moreover, not only a peerless orator, but a diligent "laborer in the vineyard" of grass roots endeavor.[80]

Father Thomas J. Conaty, who later became Rector of the Catholic University of America, had taken an active interest in civic affairs in Worcester, Massachusetts, serving long on the local school board.[81]

Much more controversial were the activities of Father Stephen McGlynn of New York who for a time defied his bishop to campaign for Henry George and who in his political views was supported by various priests of the diocese.[82]

A Catholic who became a remarkable leader in civic and political reform was Charles J. Bonaparte, grandnephew of Napoleon and a distinguished Marylander. On his mother's side there was a strong Puritan inheritance of "exacting morality," and this seemingly had influenced him decisively. Furthermore, as he had matured, he had found in the Catholicism in which he had been reared a similar compulsion. His biographer concludes that he was "a kind of American Jansenist," to whom

[79] *N. Y. Evening Post,* Aug. 8, 1895, quoted in Bland, *Hibernian Crusade,* 201.

[80] Moynihan, *op. cit.,* 255.

[81] Peter E. Hogan, *Catholic University of America, 1896-1903* (Washington, 1949), 14 note.

[82] Stephen Bell, *Edward McGlynn, Rebel, Priest and Prophet* (New York, 1937); Ellis, *Gibbons,* I, 547-95.

"certain things were right and certain things wrong." He would have no traffic with what he deemed iniquitous, as he fought against the "bad men" who caused or permitted bad government. Naturally, he strongly supported civil service reform, and almost inevitably Theodore Roosevelt drew him later into his cabinet as a Catholic representative of the Progressive movement.[83]

At the same time in Protestant circles, some laymen and ministers in their zeal for social justice were even moved to join the ranks or provide the leadership for various organizations looking toward Christian Socialism.[84]

[83] Eric F. Goldman, *Charles J. Bonaparte: Patrician Reformer* (Baltimore, 1943), 21.

[84] For the influence of men like Rev. William D. Bliss, Rev. George Herron, and Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch, see the author's *Ordeal of Faith.*

CHAPTER VI

Family and Sex Relationships

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A RECENT book has presented a popular treatment of the theme of "The American Conscience," showing the varied workings of those inner promptings which have prodded Americans to seek the good life and support the moral and ethical conditions which gave it vitality.[1] Puritans had dynamically sought the establishment of a "holy community" in the New World, hence they had displayed tremendous zeal for reform in religious, political, social, and economic life.[2] Puritanism doubtless had aristocratic overtones. Yet, it shared a common bond with democratic ideals in its deep devotion to a fundamental respect for every individual, regardless of his condition in the economic, political, or social order.[3] Early Virginia under John Smith, moreover, was governed with the purpose of providing a society responsive to the purposes of God.[4] Thus, the early and abiding characteristics of American life were, within the limitations of human frailty, vitally associated with a concern for a sound moral life. Religion, which de Tocqueville declared (during the Jacksonian period) was far stronger in America than in Europe,[5] gave continuing support to these strivings. At times those imbued with New England traditions seemed almost preoccupied with scholastic refinements of theological concepts and with repressive moralistic views, yet Wendell Phillips commented in 1880 on the tre-

[1] Roger Burlingame, *The American Conscience* (N. Y., 1957).
[2] Raymond P. Stearns, "Assessing the New England Mind," *Church History,* X (1941), 248.
[3] Ralph B. Perry, *Puritanism and Democracy* (N. Y., 1944), 192.
[4] Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956).
[5] *Democracy in America,* (2 vols., London, 1835).

mendous zeal of New Englanders over many decades in advancing every high and noble cause.[6]

In the midst, moreover, of the scientific questionings of some of the assumptions of traditional religion, Goldwin Smith, a leading political philosopher of the day, pointed out in 1890 the extent to which prevailing standards were based upon theistic beliefs, with a concomitant concern for the weak and unfortunate. He did not approach with enthusiasm the possibility of a decline in moral life due to the weakening of religious convictions which were generally believed to be the basic means of support for morality.[7]

In 1865, the United States was definitely a church-going nation, and the influence of the churches was profound. Doubtless, by 1900, the rise of increased reliance on science and the advance of secularism had meant that the Church's influence had declined relatively in American society.[8] Certainly there had been a decline in the fervor with which, we are told, the Puritans had tried, "according to the wisdom which they had, to organize the corner of God's world for which they were immediately responsible in accordance with the laws of God known" to them.[9]

In 1892, at the National Council of Teachers at Saratoga, New York, a leading Harvard professor, George H. Palmer, had spoken of "the special urgency" of the time, for hitherto in the United States, as "in every civilized state, the expensive machinery of the Church" had been set up and "placed in the hands of men of dignity," in the belief "that by no other engine can we effectively render people upright." The Harvard professor declared that he still held to this belief but that both the Church and home had lost some of their effectiveness in moral training.[10]

[6] George L. Austin, *The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips* (Boston, 1901), 385.

[7] Smith, "Will Morality Survive Religion?", *The Forum,* XI (April 1891), 155.

[8] John P. Hylan, *Public Worship: A Study in the Psychology of Religion* (Chicago, 1901), 5.

[9] Edwin D. Mead, "The Meaning of Massachusetts," *New England Quarterly,* III (Jan. 1930), 29.

[10] G. H. Palmer, "Can Moral Training Be Taught in the Schools?", *The Forum,* XIV (Jan. 1893), 673-686.

A leading Catholic educational leader at once affirmed that parochial schools were the "only safe method of rearing a generation" in faith and morals, and that in fifty years Catholicity would be "blooming and vigorous" in the United States, while the tenets of other denominations would be "as extinct as the pterodactyl."[11]

At any rate, the moral influence of the churches continued to be powerful and was emphatically felt in the realm of the family and sex relationships, Sunday observance, and—restricted by the limited insights of the period—in widely varied aspects of social, economic, and political life.

In matters of sex, the Puritan had been guided by a belief in God-given moral values and, more specifically, in the sanctity of marriage. Recent scholarship informs us that Puritan morals involved much insight into human nature and "had been formulated for men, not for angels and not for beasts." Furthermore, Puritans "showed none of the blind zeal or narrow-minded bigotry which is too often supposed to have been characteristic of them."[12]

Victorian America was a period of much vice and sordidness in sex matters, in spite of conventionally accepted standards.[13] Occasionally, publicity as to conditions existing in underworld neighborhoods flared up in a way which compelled public attention. Merely one spectacular example is found in the crusade of Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, whose sermons at Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York City, on corruption and vice in the metropolis, led to a determined drive against the evils involved.[14]

Members of the Church of Latter-day Saints of Jesus Christ (Mormons) were extremely abstemious in many respects and had definite standards of marriage duties, but their practice of polygamy (until officially renounced in 1890) caused them to

[11] Rev. James F. Loughlin, "A True Ally of the Republic," *The Forum,* XV (May 1893), 275-283.

[12] Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritans and Sex," *New England Quarterly,* XV (Dec. 1942), 607.

[13] Dennis T. Lynch, *The Wild Seventies* (N. Y., 1941).

[14] For extensive contemporary discussion, see *Harper's Weekly,* March 31, 1894.

be condemned as notoriously immoral by other churches.[15]

Doubtless poverty, crowded living conditions, loneliness, as well as deep psychological maladjustments contributed to immoral conditions in many communities. The very poor were generally not closely related to the churches. Among church members, disciplinary trials for adultery and other breaches of morality were not so common after 1865 in the North as in earlier decades. The Methodist Church, South, however, continued to expel members frequently for moral reasons, though efforts were often made to reclaim the "lost sheep" by patient persuasion. Southern Baptists were sterner, holding public trials and administering rebukes or imposing excommunication in a drastic spirit.[16]

As a protection against moral degradation there were, of course, no infallible defenses, but the Church and family were often time-tested bulwarks. Even where poverty and the economic strain of large families might have contributed to widespread delinquency, religiously oriented families often nurtured sturdy character. Thus, when French-Canadian families moved into New England and assumed humble tasks at low wages, generally low living standards did not lead to demoralization but to thrift and heightened industry. Similarly, when an Irish Catholic mother was left with eleven children, after the death of the father, in Massachusetts, she ruled the family "with gentle authority," each day beginning with prayer at her knee and each evening ending with the recitation of the Rosary, with all the children in attendance. In such a home there was always much music, dancing, and story-telling and a sharing of mutual joys and sorrows.

John R. Commons, the economist, spent his boyhood in a neighborhood in Indiana where a fine Irish Catholic mother largely supported and molded the lives of her family, even though a drunken husband and brother were additional burdens

[15] Anson P. Stokes, *Church and State in the U. S.*, (3 vols., N. Y., 1950), II, 275-85.

[16] Glenn N. Sisk, "Churches in the Alabama Black Belt, 1875-1917," *Church History*, XXIII (June 1954), 153.

for her.[17] Alfred Smith who was born in 1873 in a crowded area practically beneath the Brooklyn Bridge in New York, tells how his father was a boss truckman with only Sunday off from labor. Yet, a priest of magnetic personality in the local parish supervised many constructive activities in the congregation, and warm family ties enabled the whole family to find enjoyment in many simple pleasures.[18]

To many Irish Catholics, the life of Puritan youth seemed "barren, joyless, stern, and almost inhuman."[19] But, this may have been in part a matter of temperament, as many Yankees looked upon many of the Irish as rather "rowdy." Yet, it may have also been a lack of knowledge of the real life of a Puritan home.

Certainly, the early Puritan, "dwelling in constant communion and intimate fellowship with God" may have been one-sided and narrow in his spiritual insights, and crude and intolerant in his practical expression of them. Yet, spiritual life was a reality to him, and the character of his daily living was firmly grounded, as he believed that his "daily tasks, his household toil, his work of farm and store and shop, were all performed under the great Taskmaster's eye."[20] Doubtless in the late nineteenth century some of the descendants of the Puritans were confronted with the problem of meeting the challenges of their time with the faith but not the narrowness of their forefathers.[21]

Yet, George H. Palmer, long professor of philosophy at Harvard, whose father was a Congregational deacon and who had four uncles who were ministers, recalled his Puritan home as one where religion of the positive type entered into every hour of each happy day. To him, many descriptions of New England home life were sheer "caricatures." Indeed, such life

[17] A. R. M. Lower, "New France in New England," *The New England Quarterly,* II (April 1929), 287; Wm. Cardinal O'Connell, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1934), 1-4; John R. Commons, *Myself* (N. Y., 1934), 10.

[18] *Up to Now: An Autobiography* (N. Y., 1929), 4-41.

[19] O'Connell, *op. cit.,* 19.

[20] William D. Hyde (President of Bowdoin College), "The Transformation of New England," *The Forum,* XV (March 1893), 110.

[21] *Ibid.*

was "profoundly serious—more romantically serious than many natures could well bear," but there was nothing "morose or sour" about it.[22]

Old New England had been saturated with the spirit of the Bible, and towns like Hebron and Canaan, and personal names like Moses, Amos, Isaac, and Judith were common. Life in the hills of New Hampshire in the 1870's was still that which exalted the importance of the individual and family, amidst the practice of religion in a way that "an old Hebrew would not have severely criticized."[23] Existence was hard in the struggle against unending winters, rock-strewn soil, and the widespread prevalence of tuberculosis. Yet, religious faith brought serenity and joy. On one evening, as a New England farmer started out to do the milking, his wife and he decided to sing (according to an agreed time beat) an old hymn, "My Father's House is Bright and Fair." The husband left the house singing, as the wife did the same over her dish washing. Half an hour later the husband returned, still singing, and his wife and he, hardly a beat apart in time, finished the hymn together.[24]

A man who grew up in a Congregational family in the hills of Massachusetts recalled his father as a man of liberal temper, genial and public-spirited, and his mother as a person of strong moral force, especially during a "much enjoyed part of every Sunday," devoted not only to Bible stories and religious literature, but a varied range of novels. Thus, the family life was nurtured in an atmosphere of definite "Christian faith, moral earnestness and civic spirit."[25]

As New Englanders carried their way of life beyond the Hudson and into the Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley regions, countless families were not unlike that of Rev. John H. Eastman, Presbyterian minister at Katonah, New York. The family traditions were those of "plain living and high thinking, simplicity, conscientiousness, and devotion to duty—in short, the essence

[22] *Autobiography of a Philosopher* (N. Y., 1930), 6.
[23] *Penn State Yankee: The Autobiography of Fred L. Pattee* (State College, Penn., 1943), 35.
[24] *Ibid.*, 25.
[25] Eugene W. Lyman in Ferm, ed., *op. cit.*, II, 105-108.

of Protestantism at its best."[26] This village parson was public-spirited and a great lover of practical jokes. His sense of humor, moreover, is shown by an incident occurring in the village one morning when Eastman, meeting the local plasterer, "Charlie" Robinson, inquired why he had not been in church for several Sundays. Robinson explained that his shoes were worn out, whereupon the parson exchanged shoes with him on the spot.[27]

The son of a minister who was installed in 1881 as pastor of the First Congregational Church at Canandaigua, New York, tells how the father and mother soon made themselves loved by all in the community. Far from being a congregation made up of frustrated Puritans, it was one of many "wonderful" people of gracious manners and high purposes who helped him develop a life that he came to describe as "Enjoyment of Living."[28]

Shailer Mathews, destined to be a leading religious leader, was born in a Baptist family in Maine, where the children never danced, played cards, or went to the theatre. Yet, life was not sombre, as the youngsters roamed over the wharves of Portland, the islands of Casco Bay, and the forests and hills nearby. Also, there were numerous sports and much reading, and church activities were important. All in all, it was "a healthy life in which religion was a natural element," and there were, thanks to "wise family discipline, no serious temptations."[29]

Rufus M. Jones, who was to become an eminent philosopher, has told us of the beauty of his childhood home life in Maine. Tremendously important to him was the "unconscious mystical propensity" of his Quaker family. This meant that later, when temptations came, the faith which he had assimilated in boyhood "never gave way and the love that never let go counted in all crises."[30]

A latter-day biographer pays tribute to an important advantage which his family enjoyed and which he did not appreciate

[26] Claude M. Fuess, *Joseph B. Eastman, Servant of the People* (N. Y., 1952), 7.

[27] *Ibid.*, 11.

[28] Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living*, 40 ff.

[29] Shailer Mathews, in Ferm, *op. cit.*, II, 164-5.

[30] Rufus M. Jones in *ibid.*, I, 191-197.

at the time. This was a "definitely religious background," accepted—like the grove of trees that shielded the family home from the road—as an established fact. Always, there were family prayers, and grace before meals. On Sunday, church going, the reading of religious literature, and the climbing of nearby Mt. Hope (close to the home at Scranton, Pennsylvania) helped fill in the day. On Sunday evenings, a Bible guessing game, "I see," would be supervised by the mother, who had a deep knowledge of the Bible. Then, there followed the singing of hymns on the piazza or round the piano. Such family life brought a spirit of unity, discipline, and comradeship. A later generation might smile at the restrictions, but the author raises the question as to whether a present day national Sunday evening network program has more to commend it than the very different diversions of years gone by.[31]

Childhood experiences with church-going were often to become memories of inspiration which persisted through life. A North Carolina Episcopalian later recalled that when his mother went with the children to Sunday School and church, she exhibited such "earnestness and joyfulness," that they caught the inspiration of it and "soon came to regard it as a blessed privilege, not an unpleasant duty." He also related how the four childhood prayers taught him at his mother's knee had been a means, as he repeated the prayers throughout his life, of recapturing the innocence of childhood faith, as he remembered "looking up into his mother's face" and learning for the first time "to know and love God."[32]

Sometimes basic to the family religious experiences were the less sentimental convictions of a father rather than a mother. Walter Hines Page, famous United States Ambassador to Great Britain during World War I, had a good-humored, big-hearted Methodist father, but one whose religion was one of "rugged Old Testament harshness." To the father, God, Heaven, and Hell were matters of firm conviction, and he would permit no Negro

[31] M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *A Venture in Remembrance* (Boston, 1941), 8-29.
[32] Rev. William E. Cox, *Southern Sidelights: A Record of Personal Experience* (Raleigh, N. C., 1942), 88-93.

in his employ to curse. Such beliefs had permanent effect on Page's moral standards, though his intellectual views were to be drastically different from those of his parents.[33]

A non-Presbyterian historian tells us that in the decades before 1861, the three cardinal attributes of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, "religion, virtue, and knowledge," had been instilled into "many people who led the Old Southwest from the crudity of the backwoods to the stability of an enlightened society."[34] Certainly, this was accomplished in large degree through the combined efforts of home, school, and Church. Perhaps, this involved a discipline too strenuous for the rank and file of the citizenry, but for those who could accept it, there was compensation in the widespread belief that "Brighter illustrations of Christian living than are found in Southern Presbyterian homes exist nowhere."[35]

Even among the reputed dour Scotch-Irish of the Southern and Middle States, the intimate relationship of religion and family life were not, in the viewpoint of a French scholar, associated with a "grave and frowning temperament."[36] Ray Stannard Baker, biographer of Woodrow Wilson, tells us that Wilson was reared in an atmosphere where the daily reading of the Bible, prayer, and grace before meals were an established way of life, in which he continued to the end of his days. Accordingly, Wilson's religious convictions were "immovable, certain, like rocks in a weary land."[37] As Wilson and his wife established a home of their own, and he was to serve as Professor and then as President of Princeton, the same family standards were maintained. Every Sunday afternoon Mrs. Wilson taught her daughters a lesson from the Bible and the catechism. When each could say the latter by heart without a mistake, each received a Bible with the owner's name inscribed

[33] Burton J. Hendrick, *The Training of an American: The Earlier Letters of Walter Hines Page* (Boston, 1928), 3-23, 127-128.

[34] Walter B. Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest* (Richmond, Va., 1952), 126.

[35] Thos. C. Johnson, "History of the Southern Presbyterian Church," in *American Church History* (13 vols., N. Y., 1893-97), XI, 421.

[36] Daniel Halévy, *President Wilson* (N. Y., 1919), 11.

[37] Baker, *Wilson: Youth*, 68.

on it and with the admonition to regard it as a priceless possession.[38] At night, as the children knelt for their prayers the father sometimes would sit by the nursery fire and sing to the young folks such songs as, "Watchman, Tell Us of the Night."[39] When Wilson's own father, a former moderator of the Southern Presbyterian Church, spent his declining years in the Wilson household and became ill, Woodrow would come home from the work of a busy day and sing "Crown Him With Many Crowns," "A Mighty Fortress is Our God," and other hymns which the old man loved.[40]

Similar examples of sturdy family life buttressed by religion could be given, drawn from the life of typical communities in every section of the country. Yet, secular forces with an emphasis on individual freedom and ease of living had arisen to challenge the restraints and the often irritating responsibilities of marriage. The Scotch reformers, Robert Owen and Frances Wright, and later the unconventional, articulate Victoria Woodhull, had espoused views which shocked conservative society.[41]

The Roman Catholic Church viewed marriage as a sacrament, and Protestant churches regarded it as a divine institution surrounded by religious sanctions and a means of ennobling and spiritualizing basic drives of human nature.[42] Accordingly, as society in America seemed in many respects to be flouting religiously oriented views of marriage and the family, the churches became vocal in protest.[43]

Representative of the attitude of the evangelical churches was the action of the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1869 which expressed great pain at the "increasing prevalence, in many parts of the country, of unscriptural views of the marriage relation," the consequent increase in divorces "for slight and unwarrantable reasons," and the "alarming extent" to which the destruction of offspring before birth by parents had come to

[38] Eleanor W. McAdoo, *The Woodrow Wilsons,* 73.
[39] *Ibid.,* 4-5.
[40] Baker, *Wilson: Princeton,* 142.
[41] Sidney Ditzion, *Marriage, Morals, and Sex in America* (N. Y., 1953).
[42] Stokes, *Church and State in the U. S.,* III, 42 ff.
[43] Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family,* (3 vols., Cleveland, 1919), III, 284-87.

prevail. Among the factors indicated as producing these trends was "the growing devotion to fashion and luxury" and the prevalence of the idea "that pleasure, instead of the glory of God and the enjoyment of his favour, is the great object of life."[44] In 1885, the same body emphatically denounced loose views and practices on marriage and divorce "so alarmingly prevalent" at the time.[45]

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, in 1884 declared, "The sacredness and security of the family institution is at once the product and the support of the Church on earth; and the sanctity and permanence of the marriage relation is the cornerstone of the Christian family and home." Hence, a disregard for the obligations of marriage "loosens the bolts which hold society together, shakes the main pillars of the State, and undermines the foundations of morality and religion." Accordingly, the "ease, frequency, and readiness with which divorces" were being obtained, was deemed appalling.[46]

In 1868 a new canon gave sanction to the practice of the Protestant Episcopal Church providing that no minister could solemnize the marriage of a divorced person except in the case of the innocent party in a divorce secured on the Scriptural grounds of adultery.[47] The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1884 adopted a similar provision to be embodied in its Book of Discipline.[48]

The Congregational Church had no central authority binding its members in such matters, but the National Council of the denomination in 1880 "deplored the dissolution of the bonds of marriage, except for the one cause mentioned by our Savior."[49] New Englanders had a reputation for marked individ-

[44] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1869* (Philadelphia, 1869), 937.

[45] *Ibid., 1885* (Philadelphia, 1885), 639.

[46] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (N. Y., 1834), 333-4.

[47] James T. Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the U. S., 1789-1931* (N. Y., 1951), 327.

[48] *Journal of the General Conference, 1884*, p. 334.

[49] Quoted in A. W. Calhoun, *op. cit.*, 292.

ualism, and it was in a region of strong Congregational influence that divorce had become especially prevalent. In 1881, a Vermont clergyman asserted:

> Now, divorce is a New England idea—not the New England idea; but, rather a Yankee notion—apparently indigenous to the soil of Connecticut, from which it has spread, with other and better notions over large sections of the United States.[50]

More lenient views as to divorce were to some degree linked with less strict views of moral conduct in general. Calvinistic theology had emphasized the "total depravity" of man, which meant not that there is no goodness in humankind, but that every aspect of man's nature is subject to the awful curse of sin. A recent scholar tells us that, as the highly influential Henry Ward Beecher had thrown off traditional religious views, he had embraced sentimental views of love that made the problem of evil seem almost trivial.[51] Perhaps this was a factor in his attempted rationalization of his relations with highly emotional women of his Plymouth congregation.[52] At any rate it seems to have contributed to conduct which prompted the *New York Times* to suggest that his private affairs had been "entirely unworthy of his name, position, and sacred calling."[53]

Indubitably, great mental and physical suffering came to many persons as a result of unhappy marriage. One particularly difficult situation was that of an innocent party deserted by the other partner to a marriage. The Presbyterian Church in its Confession of Faith had recognized this situation, and when the difficulty could in no way "be remedied by the Church or civil magistrate," it was deemed in effect a dissolution of the marriage relationship.[54] The Presbyterians, therefore, considered this, as well as adultery, as a valid reason for dissolving the

[50] *The Independent,* XXXIII, Feb. 3, 1881. Long before, the *Catholic World,* IV (Oct. 1866) 101-3, had counselled the Protestant clergy of Connecticut "to lose no time before putting all their energies at work to save their state from the moral desolation which threatens it."

[51] Kenneth Andrews, *Nook Farm* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 34.

[52] Paxton Hibben, *Henry Ward Beecher* (N. Y., 1947), *passim.*

[53] Quoted in Ira V. Brown, *Lyman Abbott,* 69.

[54] Samuel T. Lowrie, "Wilful Desertion A Ground of Divorce," *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review,* III (1892), 297-312.

marriage. Leaders of the Church justified this somewhat liberal position by an appeal to Scripture (1 Corinthians, VII, 15).[55]

As the years went by, and complexity of life accentuated the problems of compatibility in marriage, generally greater tolerance for divorce developed. The National Council of the Congregational Church in 1892 listened to a report of its Committee on Marriage and Divorce, presented by Rev. Daniel Merriam, stressing the need for sociological knowledge in meeting the problems and urging guidance toward successful marriage.[56]

In 1891, the National Conference of Unitarians heard an address of its Council that declared that no remedy for existing difficulties was to be found in "an effort to ignore the necessity for divorce." Dr. Carroll D. Wright at the same conference contended that marriage resulting in real happiness, secures a divine end, but if happiness is not attained, divorce "more perfectly secures the divine end than a continuance of the compact, which may be, under some conditions, the burden to one of the parties of the unholiest prostitution. . . ." The Unitarians at that time saw as the immediate need, proper efforts to make marriage more sacred and to secure the "utmost care and seriousness" in framing state divorce laws.[57]

Particularly in wealthy society, divorce and remarriage became increasingly common. Even in cases of the immensely wealthy or prominent, however, the Church often indicated emphatic disapproval. When Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt divorced her husband (1895) and planned to marry O. H. P. Belmont, the Episcopal Church would not sanction the ceremony, which was performed by Mayor William L. Strong of New York City.[58] Much earlier (1869) a Trinity Episcopal vestryman in the same city had written in his diary of the rather general denunciation of a somewhat different situation. This involved the performance by Henry Ward Beecher, assisted by Rev. Octavius Frothingham (a leading Unitarian) of the deathbed wedding cere-

[55] "But if the unbelieving partner desires to separate, let it be so: in such a case the brother or sister is not bound. For God has called us to peace."

[56] Calhoun, *op. cit.*, 301-303.

[57] *Ibid.*, 305-6.

[58] *D.A.B.*, XIX, 176-7; XXI, 68-69. Belmont also was divorced.

mony of Albert D. Richardson, noted journalist. The bride was the estranged, and then divorced wife of Richardson's murderous assailant. The vestryman commented that the two ministers were "brilliant, clever, astute talkers," but men of the world who were inclined to blunder grievously.[59]

In 1899 a national magazine stressed the tragedy and suffering commonly accompanying divorce and observed:

> We need not denounce; we need not vindicate our own morality by exhortation or censure . . . assured that these unfortunate people have trouble enough, and that the breaking up of a family and the destruction of a home is a calamity, and inevitably involves suffering which luxury cannot prevent, and which time itself does not cure.[60]

In January 1895, Pope Leo XIII, in an encyclical *Longinqua Oceani* to the Catholic Church in the United States, discussed various matters, including divorce. He reemphasized the "dogma of the unity and indissolubility of marriage" and commented on the extent to which many non-Catholics in the United States were pleased by this adamant position, as they were "terrified by the licentiousness of divorce."[61] *Harper's Weekly,* although caustic in its reference to some sections of the Encyclical that showed how "under the soft velvet touch of Leo XIII there is the same iron grip as of old," declared that nothing could be better than his warnings against the "licentiousness of divorce."[62]

Various Protestant church bodies came to demand stricter divorce laws. Particularly in the South, where generally the power of the leading evangelical denominations was a controlling force, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists did much to attach disgrace to all cases of divorce. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, maintained, for example, that individual hardships were not to be balanced against the severe damage to society suffered as a result of lax standards. In 1895, when Lord Durham, an English peer, sought release from his marriage

[59] Nevins and Thomas, *Diary of Geo. T. Strong,* IV, 262 note.
[60] *Harper's Weekly,* May 13, 1899.
[61] John T. Ellis, ed., *Documents of American Catholic History* (Milwaukee, 1956), 514-26.
[62] March 9, 1895.

vows because of his wife's insanity, and the plea was rejected, the *New Orleans Christian Advocate* (Methodist) praised the "righteous decision." Lord Durham's lack of humane promptings was held to deserve "universal execration" as an attitude callous "enough to shame the brutality of a Zulu Chief" and one revealing his lordship as being "at heart a Mormon."[63]

Cardinal Gibbons, liberal in many views but orthodox in his adherence to Catholic doctrine, never failed to emphasize his uncompromising opposition to divorce and his abhorrence of the grave peril to family life from broken homes.[64] In 1889 he contributed to the *North American Review* an article on the subject asserting that Christ had proclaimed in "clear and unequivocal terms the sanctity, unity, and indissolubility of marriage." To Gibbons, divorce had started "when marriage was removed from the domain of the church: divorce shall cease when the old order shall be restored." In the meantime, he thought that the number of legally recognized causes for divorce should be lessened, and "rapid-transit" facilities for passing through divorce courts should be cut off.[65] Later, he prepared a brochure, published in 1899, affirming that the sanctity and indissolubility of marriage constituted a cardinal principle of Christianity.[66]

That many Catholic marriages were maintained when love between husband and wife had waned in evident fashion is illustrated in the case of John La Farge (the noted artist) and his wife. A son of the marriage, a Jesuit, relates that, although his mother bore ten children, his father spent much of his time away from home. Apparently the father no longer loved his wife with ardent affection after the birth of their second child. The troubled woman at the age of forty, with failing health, real financial difficulties, and a husband who tended to avoid the monotonous responsibilities of the family, asked a priest-confessor about the problem of more children, since she had already given birth to nine. He told her simply to go ahead and try it

[63] Farish, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts*, 331.
[64] Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 529.
[65] Vol. CCCXCVI (Nov. 1889), 517-524.
[66] Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 530.

again, and trust in God. A year later, a tenth child was born.[67]

Seemingly, in some instances, incompatibility in marriage was so great that continued mutuality of living was impossible. A daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, and her husband joined the Catholic Church in March 1891. Their married life had been beset by vicissitudes, and as Catholics they seemed to become even more estranged from each other. The husband revived intimacy with an old "crutch," the use of alcohol, and would seem to have needed desperately the ministrations of a faithful helpmate. But, the wife had other intentions. She secured the permission of the Church, in writing, to leave her husband, and after doing so, never entertained "any thought of a reconciliation." Taking up the care of cancer-ridden patients, she eventually became a Dominican lay sister and as time went on, a leader in the charitable activities of the Catholic Church in the New York City area.[68]

The adamant attitude of the Catholic Church against divorce had been a powerful deterrent to broken homes, if not always an obvious aid to personal joy of living. Similarly, as the divorce rate rose rapidly in the United States, the unbending position of the Methodist Church, South, was in large measure responsible for a smaller number of disrupted marriages in the South than in the other sections of the country.[69]

Bishop Henry C. Potter of the Protestant Episcopal Church declared in 1886 that the effect of the doctrine and discipline of his denomination on marriage and divorce was to make divorce "exceedingly rare" among members of the Church and to cause it to be looked upon "with extreme aversion."[70]

Even the philosophically liberal but ethically intense Felix Adler, founder of the Ethical Culture Movement, came to look upon divorce almost with repulsion. Much later he asserted that he could not see how anyone who had taken the hand of another could ever "cut off his partner, any more than he could

[67] John La Farge, S.J., *The Manner Is Ordinary* (N. Y., 1954), 27-34.
[68] Vernon Loggins, *The Hawthornes* (N. Y., 1951), 317-321.
[69] Farish, *op. cit.*, 331.
[70] Potter, "Is Divorce Wrong?", *North American Review,* CCCXCVI (Nov. 1889), 524-29.

deliberately cut off a limb of his own." To him, it was incomprehensible that any one could set "adrift" the one whom he had taken into the intimacies of his life and seek to "devolve from himself the responsibility" which he had assumed.[71]

To some extent, perhaps, a removal of some of the barriers to greater harmony in Christian marriage was to await the coming of greater knowledge of its psychological and physiological aspects.[72] A recent writer tells us of the almost fanatical "purity" of his father, who as a college student at Oberlin, had asserted that the utterance of a single impure word would leave an indelible stain upon one's mind. The father, who had become a Congregational minister, proved to be almost too "pure" a husband and not wholly congenial to the wife and mother who was a gifted and public-spirited leader in her own right. The son observed, as time went on, the moods and tempers which the mother exhibited, due to her "disappointment in the intimacies of love," and the grief and frustration which the husband experienced in turn. As Christians, the couple endeavored to bring joy to each other, and the wife could write to her spouse as the "Dearest and Best of Husbands." Yet, as four children came to bless the union, there arose a fear of future pregnancies, and the normal zest for life was blasted by the death of the lovely oldest child. Such were the tensions induced by these circumstances that abstinence from conjugal relations seemed the only answer. At this solution, however, nature appeared to rebel, for the wife experienced an unexplained illness, lasting for more than a year, and the husband lost his vigor and for years was a frail, hollow "ghost" of his former self.[73]

Even Robert Ingersoll found in home life the "cornerstone of civilization." Marriage was to him "the most important, the most sacred, contract that human beings can make." In ideal marriage, he believed, "duty and obligation are instantly changed into desire and joy, and two lives, like uniting streams, flow on as one." Even for him it was "easy to understand the

[71] Adler, *Incompatibility in Marriage* (N. Y., 1930), 14.
[72] See, *e.g.*, Ernest R. and Gladys H. Groves, *Sex in Marriage* (N. Y., 1940).
[73] Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living*, 29-51.

position taken by the various churches" against divorce. Yet, while the churches counselled forbearance, self-sacrifice, and discipline, Ingersoll stressed "the absolute and perfect equality of husband and wife," the latter resting in "absolute freedom, the queen of herself, the sovereign of her own soul and of her own body." To him, when the glow of love had departed, the sacramental view of marriage which held men and women together in the midst of difficulties became a veritable "shield of vice."[74]

Leaders of the Ethical Culture Society sought to develop attitudes and techniques that would bring together the highest ethical considerations and the deepest personal satisfactions.[75] Doubtless in a less urbane way, evangelists in talks for "Men Only" and for "Women Only" endeavored to bring a Christian answer to the imperious demands of sex. Ministers in books like *Oats and Wild Oats* (1885) by Rev. James M. Buckley, Methodist editor, sought to give, according to the culture of the time, guidance as to the difficulties and challenges of Christian manhood.[76]

Public opinion in the United States at the time, doubtless amidst considerable hypocrisy, was overwhelmingly committed to high standards of sex conduct and of marriage obligations. Even before a fashionable congregation like "Old Trinity" Episcopal Church in New York City, the distinguished rector, Morgan Dix (son of the eminent Democratic political leader, John A. Dix), on occasion endeavored to deal with the "sin of impurity," which a vestryman admitted was "a difficult subject." On a Sunday in March 1873, Dix took up the problem in a "most earnest and forcible" manner, touching on the new school of erotic poetry (as illustrated by Swinburne), "nasty flash weeklies" on every news counter, "fast women and fast men," innocent flirtations among married folk, and increasing facilities for divorce.[77]

[74] Ingersoll in *North American Review,* CCCXCVI (Nov. 1889), 529-538.
[75] Henry Neumann, *Spokesmen for Ethical Religion* (Boston, 1951), 44.
[76] Glenn N. Sisk in *Church History,* XXIII (June 1954), 166; *D.A.B.,* III, 231-2.
[77] Nevins and Thomas, *Diary of George T. Strong,* IV, 474.

A leading American historian, dealing especially with the period from 1865 to 1878, has concluded that the nation "as a whole met fairly rigid moral standards" and "the healthy domesticity of Americans was, in fact, unquestionable."[78]

Apparently, the clergy in general set a praiseworthy example in this respect. Charges of immorality against Henry Ward Beecher had shocked the country. Whatever may have been the truth in the accusations, the famous Brooklyn preacher undoubtedly had been subjected to temptations of a most subtle sort, especially in view of his rather sensual nature and his far from completely harmonious home life. Inordinate adulation, furthermore, had come to be heaped upon him in a way to test the fibre of a spiritual giant.

Later, a Methodist minister underscored the temptations of even the average minister, which, he said, were "subtle, insinuating, and constant." Shielded almost wholly from the "coarser solicitations of unbridled lust," the typical pastor received from the best of his women parishioners smiling flattery and lavish adulation. Accordingly, he had to be on constant guard that "gradually the growth of personal affection" should not carry him to "the brink of an abyss and impel him over it."[79]

Yet, the same observer expressed the carefully considered belief that there had been a great improvement in the morality of American clergymen since the Revolutionary War and especially during the period since the Mexican War. Furthermore, he acknowledged, what informed observers deemed incontrovertible, that there was no country in the world where the Roman Catholic clergy maintained so high a standard of morality as in the United States.[80]

Doubtless, even when the individual, social, and religious needs of ordinary men and women found joyous expression in splendid marriages, there was need for great understanding and restraint. Not all were able to attain that "full assurance" (besought by a Protestant wedding hymn of the period):

[78] Allan Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America* (N. Y., 1927), 214-215.

[79] J. M. Buckley, "The Morality of Ministers," *The Forum,* II (Jan. 1887), 504-5.

[80] *Ibid.,* 513.

Of tender charity and steadfast faith,
Of patient hope, and quiet, brave endurance.[81]

Nevertheless, a prominent Massachusetts Episcopalian, who as a young bachelor had been somewhat self-centered, was probably not expressing merely pious words when he asserted that he had learned from marriage and parenthood "that service to those one loves is the only perfect freedom."[82] To the extent that in thousands of cases the Church had contributed to such a consummation, its success was another evidence of its greatness.

Yet, matters of sex transgressions were doubtless viewed by many church-goers with much greater understanding than had been the case even a generation before. Rutherford B. Hayes, one of the circumspect of men and a faithful attendant at Methodist services, wrote in 1884 regarding the charges that had been made by those who called Grover Cleveland "a self-confessed adulterer." He commented, "The admitted scandal does not disqualify him. We know scores of men with that habit who are upright, patriotic and in all other respects, all we could wish."[83]

A few years later, in a western New York community, the neighborhood reacted sternly when a young man and woman were married rather suddenly and a baby came three months later. But a young matron in the town, the mother of Harry Emerson Fosdick, vehemently defended the young parents, demanding, "They love each other, don't they? What more do you want and what else is there to say?"[84]

Church-Going America was slowly learning its lessons in compassion.

[81] "Perfect Love," by Dorothy F. Blomfield.

[82] Frederick W. Dallinger, *Recollections of an Old Fashioned New Englander* (New York, 1941), 256-7.

[83] Carl Wittke, "Carl Schurz and Rutherford B. Hayes," *The Ohio Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 65 (October, 1956), 351.

[84] Raymond B. Fosdick, *Chronicle of a Generation: An Autobiography* (New York, 1958), 11.

CHAPTER VII

Sabbath Observance

†

ONE way in which the influence of the churches expressed itself decidedly was in an emphasis on Sabbath observance. On a typical Sunday in the years after the Civil War, the bells of thousands of villages and towns throughout the Republic summoned faithful churchgoers to morning worship. The traditional sanctity of the Lord's Day, as it was frequently termed by the devout, had not given way to what became an easygoing, and then, in some circles, a feverish diversion in later generations. Among many Catholics, as well as Protestants, the setting aside of Sunday for rest and quiet was widely regarded as the only proper observance of the day. Thus, in 1866, when Irish-American Catholics planned a Fenian meeting for Jones's Woods in New York City, Archbishop John McCloskey denounced such a proposal as "an open profanation of the Lord's Day," and he issued a pastoral letter, warning the faithful to abstain from such a demonstration "on the day sacred to religion and to God."[1] Years later, as Sunday observance came to be more often disregarded, the Roman Catholic bishops of the various dioceses of New York and New Jersey united in a pastoral letter in 1883, condemning such "excesses" as Sunday picnics and moonlight excursions for charity.[2] As to Sunday work the official attitude of Catholic moralists has been that more than approximately two and a half hours of really servile work on Sunday is a "grave sin," but necessity, charity, and the customs of the community may be factors in excusing depar-

[1] John Cardinal Farley, *The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey,* 274-5.
[2] *Ibid.,* 350-51.

tures from strict adherence to the Church's standards in this respect.[3]

Thus, among the religious-minded of the post Civil War period, Sunday was a holy day and "not a holiday." While Catholic officials discouraged public demonstrations and commercialized activities, among hundreds of thousands of "evangelical" Protestants, even the most innocent family diversions were widely condemned. Among such people, from the first conscious moment on a Sabbath morning until bedtime in the evening, "the spell of the day was on everything."[4]

Doubtless the rigidity of the old "Puritan" Sabbath had been relaxed to some extent as early as the period of the American War for Independence and the era of "free thought" which accompanied and followed the French Revolution. Something of a crisis developed with the beginning of the transportation of the United States mails on Sunday after 1810.[5] Thereafter, the War of 1812, the coming of the railroad, the urban trend with the development of various businesses (including the Sunday newspaper), the westward movement of the frontier, and the influx of tens of thousands of Irish and German immigrants —all contributed to a decreased strictness in the observance of the day. Even the rise of the pious Seventh-Day Adventists who scrupulously refrained from unnecessary activity on Saturday but treated Sunday as nearly as possible like any other day, had not been without its effect.[6] But even devout Seventh-Day Adventists or Jews might be convicted of Sabbath breaking, such as plowing a field or operating a business establishment on Sunday, after a scrupulous observance of the previous day.[7]

Protestant clergymen had struggled unsuccessfully against

[3] Rev. Vincent J. Kelly, *Forbidden Sunday and Feast Day Occupations* (Washington, 1943), 164-172.

[4] Cyrenus Cole, *I Remember, I Remember* (Iowa City, 1936), 48.

[5] For the attitude of the churches, see Anson P. Stokes, *Church and State in the U. S.*, II, 12-20.

[6] Frederick L. Bronner, "The Observance of the Sabbath in the United States, 1800-1865," *Harvard University Graduate School, Summaries of Theses, Doctors of Philosophy, 1937* (Cambridge, 1938), 132-5.

[7] *The Independent,* XLIII (Aug. 6, 1891), 1173, deemed the law on which this decision was based to be "bad law, and bad morals, and bad religion."

the secular trend. Yet, Sunday was still widely observed in such a way as to be considered by some a time "of restraints and repressions."[8] In very religious Protestant families, there was often no cooking or baking, and the food (such as rice, baked apples, bread and butter, meat and cheese) which had been prepared the day before, was served without being re-heated. Sometimes even the pet dog of a family would be reproved if he greeted his youthful master too excitedly on Sunday morning, while the horses and cattle seemed to spend more than the usual hours in rest.[9]

Even very wealthy families were often extremely strict, the descendants of William B. Astor not being permitted to play croquet or tennis on Sunday at the family estate, Rokeby, on the Hudson. Likewise, in other Protestant homes which conformed to prevailing standards of piety, a definite Sunday program was observed. The day began with family prayers, in many instances briefer than on days other than Sunday, for morning worship and Sabbath school would occupy much of the remaining hours. Later in the day, there was often an additional church service. At Dobbs Ferry, New York, prominent families even closed the window blinds of their homes.[10]

James W. Gerard, later United States Ambassador to Germany, was the son of socially prominent Episcopalians in New York City. Yet, Sundays in his boyhood were spent in much the manner of Puritan New England. The ponies owned by the family could not be used for a ride, a quiet walk being the utmost diversion permitted. On rainy Sundays, moralistic books, *Line upon Line* and *Precept upon Precept*, were acceptable fare.[11]

In the same spirit, in American colleges like Amherst, as late

[8] John Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues* (Princeton, N. J., 1954), 39-43.

[9] Cyrenus Cole, *op. cit.*, 48.

[10] Mrs. Winthrop Chanler, *Roman Spring* (Boston, 1935), 184-6; Oswald Garrison Villard, *Fighting Years* (N. Y., 1939), 32-33. The freethinking Villards did not participate in these austerities.

[11] James W. Gerard, *My First Eighty-three Years in America* (Garden City, 1951), 17.

as 1870, class assignments were so arranged that no study for Monday classes would be necessary on the Lord's Day.[12]

It would be a distortion of truth to suggest that all Americans were churchgoers or that a majority of citizens manifested much positive enthusiasm for the regimented sanctity of the day. A boy of seven who attended two services on Sunday morning and perhaps another in the afternoon and then returned home to read his Sunday School paper might find the rest of the day dull indeed. Denied the opportunity of playing outside the house, he might stand at the French doors of the living room filled with envy toward some of the children of the "Godless" who were allowed to play hop-scotch in the sunshine.[13] For young people of courting age Sunday buggy riding was often strictly forbidden, and for older people an excursion into the country was not to be contemplated.

In such homes as aspired to some acquaintance with contemporary culture, secular magazines like *Godey's Ladies' Book* and *The Atlantic Monthly* were often laid aside as unsuitable for Sabbath reading, as were *Harper's Young People* and the *Youth's Companion* at a little later period.[14] On Sunday, a youth of intellectual interests might be reproved by his parents for perusing George Bancroft's *History of the United States,* even though it traced, in filio-pietistic fashion, the development of democracy in the United States as the unfolding of the purposes of Divine Providence.[15]

On the Iowa frontier a woman who had brought with her from the East a copy of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* might use it as a change from Bible reading. Perhaps she had purchased other religious books like *The Bible Looking Glass* from some theological student who acted as a "colporteur" during his summer vacation. One edition of this particular book had an appendix which attracted interest because of its inclusion of

[12] Thomas Le Duc, *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College, 1865-1912* (New York, 1946), 24.

[13] Edward A. Ross, *Seventy Years of It: An Autobiography* (New York, 1936), 115.

[14] E. Alexander Powell, *Gone Are the Days* (Boston, 1938), 189-90.

[15] George Harris, *A Century's Change in Religion* (Boston, 1914), 136.

"Gray's Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" with a page illustration for each chapter.[16]

In some households, a miniature reproduction of Noah's Ark with figures representing the human and animal occupants afforded permissible enjoyment for the young, while Bible questions and conundrums often helped to relieve the monotony of the afternoon hours.[17] In Calvinist families zest was sometimes derived from testing one another as to a knowledge of the *Shorter Catechism.* William P. Hepburn, later sponsor of the important Congressional legislation, recalled how, at a slightly earlier period he had spent many boyhood hours on Sunday with his grandmother, singing hymns from the old Methodist hymnal which the family had carried to Iowa from Ohio.[18]

Such devout austerity, of course was far from the general rule, especially in frontier districts and in communities to which Germans and other Europeans had recently migrated. In mining camps like Virginia City and Deadwood, and among the cattle men of the cow country, Sunday was little different from any other day. Yet, by the period after the Civil War, in early mining camps like Central City and Black Hawk (Colorado), determined efforts had been made to enforce Sabbath observance. Banks and business houses, in the main, had been persuaded to close on Sunday, and court proceedings were brought against those who kept gambling houses and saloons open on Sunday. By 1868, even the stage lines there had discontinued Sunday business. Though ore wagons rumbled through the streets, work ceased in the mines because the Cornish miners would not work on that day.[19]

In a mining camp in Nevada, the refined wife of a state legislator and toll road operator saw that her children went to Sunday School, and she and her husband attended church together even when the latter had spent all of Saturday night in conviviality away from home. In this household, part of Sunday

[16] Cole, *op. cit.*, 55.
[17] Harris, *op. cit.*, 221.
[18] John E. Briggs, *William Peters Hepburn* (Iowa City, 1919), 9.
[19] Lynn I. Perrigo, "Law and Order in Early Colorado Mining Camps," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXVIII (1941), 41ff.

was sometimes occupied with the reading of *Gulliver's Travels* or *The Sketch Book* to the boys or in group singing around the piano. Such diversions as well as the baking of plum pies and "cunning little tarts" were certainly deviations from the strictest observance of the day. By 1874, even in boisterous Virginia City, Nevada, most business houses were closed on Sundays, the leading editor commenting, "Our people are fast becoming decently, not bigotedly religious."[20]

Farther east, along the cow country frontier from Dakota to West Texas, a cowboy seeking the society of the daughter of a new settler, often accompanied her to the unprepossessing frontier church where she might demurely suggest that she wished he would openly ally himself with those who "sought Heaven as their home."[21]

In communities settled by Germans and others from the continent of Europe there was often a vigorous adherence to the gaiety of the "Continental Sunday." Catholics who had attended Mass often felt free to seek such wholesome recreation as they desired, and Lutherans commonly held that the New Testament commanded no day to be held especially holy but required that all the days be dedicated to Christ's service.[22]

Yet, Germans of pietistic and Reformed backgrounds often sought to aid in checking the increasing inroads upon Sabbath observance. In 1859 a popular rally of Germans in New York City with leading pastors and two thousand people in attendance had sought to stimulate greater Sabbath observance. German mass meetings for this purpose were later held in the Cooper Union, New York City, and in St. Louis, St. Paul, and other cities. Dr. Philip Schaff, an internationally known religious scholar of German background, was one of the leaders. He did not approve of the rigors of the Puritan Sabbath, but he feared the effects of the "loose practice of continental Europe"

[20] Richard G. Lillard, "A Literate Woman in the Mines: the Diary of Rachel Haskell," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXXI (1944), 81 ff; Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise,* July 21, 1874.

[21] Edward E. Dale, "The Cow Country in Transition," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXIV (1936), p. 14.

[22] Paul W. Spaude, *The Lutheran Church Under American Influence* (Burlington, Iowa, 1943), 289.

on health, morals, and economic well-being. At one New York City meeting, he exclaimed, "The American Sabbath is in danger of being crucified between two thieves—Irish whiskey and German beer."[23]

Pious Catholic parents who lived on crowded Manhattan Island naturally sought relief from the dust and noise of the area on Sunday, the father's only free day. Hence, every week during the 1880's in the summer time one family went to Coney Island, or to Staten Island where a friend operated a roadhouse.[24] Such diversions were of course frowned upon by strict Sabbatarians, and in Chicago, a Protestant cousin on a visit with relatives, might be shocked by the laughter, smoking, swearing, and card-playing which went on among the youth in the Catholic Parish Club in the very shadow of the church.[25]

Yet, many Catholics had a real deference for Sabbath observance when not carried to Puritanical extremes. The Lutherans of Pennsylvania and other states, moreover, were not uninfluenced by the strict views of many of their neighbors. In Baltimore in 1879, a traveler found that he could not secure a shave or buy an appetizer before dinner, churchgoing being the order of the day. With this type of Sunday, the later Cardinal Gibbons was in thorough accord. In 1885 he joined with Protestant ministers in petitioning Congress against Sunday work in the United States mail and military services and in interstate commerce.[26] The desired legislation was introduced by Senator Henry W. Blair in May, 1888, but the bill never came to a vote.

Later, on the occasion of his silver jubilee as a Catholic bishop (1893), Gibbons, preaching in the Baltimore Cathedral, emphasized the strong religious basis of the United States, in comparison with other countries, and to support his position raised the question, "Where is the Christian Sabbath better observed than here?" Indeed, he believed that it was well observed in the United States except in a few of the larger cities.[27]

[23] David Schaff, *Life of Philip Schaff* (N. Y., 1897), 222-28.
[24] Alfred E. Smith, *Up to Now: An Autobiography* (N. Y., 1929), 4.
[25] Paul Scott Mower, *The House of Europe* (Boston, 1945), 22.
[26] John T. Ellis, *Gibbons*, I, 167 and II, 582.
[27] Allen S. Will, *The Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, II, 591.

Even in 1865, however, some noted that the Civil War had further altered the rigidity of Sabbath observance. People who heretofore had refrained from going to the Post Office on Sunday had been so eager for news from some dear one at the front as to change their habits in this respect. Some had travelled on Sunday to reach the sick or wounded, and newspapers had been issued to meet the pressing demand for late information from the theatre of war.[28] By the 1870's at a college founded by New Englanders on the Western Reserve of Ohio, students would be required to attend only one church service rather than three, as had been the rule forty years before, and the sermons would be thirty minutes rather than two hours in length. Here, a "liberal" attitude by the 1870's came to permit Sunday visits to the post office, long walks in the woods, and even a buggy ride with a female friend.[29]

Ingenious children, moreover, found methods of circumventing the most stern parental rules. Thus, around 1880, when Dwight Morrow (later Ambassador to Mexico) and his brother knew that no secular reading, toys, or visitors were permitted on Sunday, and their favorite books were securely locked in a bureau drawer, they contrived to cut figures of soldiers out of old magazines and to manufacture toy cannons out of spools of paper, pencils and elastic bands. It was discovered, moreover, that if an upper drawer of the bureau were wholly pulled out, one could reach the volumes of Lincoln, Washington, and Dickens in the locked drawer below.[30]

As the nineteenth century moved toward its close, there was to be a noticeable decline in the strictness of Sabbath observance. In a New York state village, children of Presbyterian parents were allowed to walk in the woods in the afternoon, though the children of the Methodist minister had to sit on the lawn of the parsonage.[31] The son of a Presbyterian minister in

[28] George Harris, *op. cit.*, 208.

[29] Frederick C. Waite, *Western Reserve University: The Hudson Era, 1826 to 1882* (Cleveland, 1943), 139.

[30] Harold Nicholson, *Dwight Morrow* (New York, 1935), 10.

[31] Thomas W. Lamont, "My Boyhood in a Parsonage," *The Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXVII (May, 1946), 185.

Missouri might even stay at home from church to care for the baby and while away the time by reading secular poems such as those of Byron and Tennyson.[32] By 1877, New Orleans citizens were reported to be indulging in target shooting, baseball, excursions, horse races and "all manner of godless diversions." Accordingly, the Protestant churches of the country endeavored to guard the traditional observance of the day, first through moral suasion and then, to some degree, by advocating restrictive laws. The Methodist Church South was especially active in opposing the operation of passenger trains and amusement places on Sunday, and attempts to introduce secular concerts and professional baseball games on Sunday resulted in emphatic protests.[33]

Thus, in 1865 and thereafter, the old-fashioned Sabbath was giving way to more liberal social practices. Yet, in many states, north and south, legislative enactments gave sanction to it as a day of rest and quiet; men widely respected for their "broad-mindedness" deplored the inroads of the continental Sunday; and even among people of little religious inclination, decorum generally required an abstinence from the more hilarious forms of recreation.[34]

Central to the problem was the question as to how the Scriptural view that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath should be applied in late nineteenth century America. In rural areas, where men worked strenuously six days a week, Sabbath observance was almost a physical necessity. A leading American periodical reported in 1872 that nothing was more generally characteristic of American country life than the "stillness and repose of Sunday" when the village stores were closed and all sounds of labor were hushed.[35]

As urban life had developed, the simplicity of rural living had passed. Occasionally, even a minister found it very incon-

[32] Henry N. Wieman, "Theocentric Religion," in *Contemporary American Theology,* ed. by Vergilius Ferm, I (New York, 1932), 340.

[33] Hunter D. Farish, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts,* (Richmond, Va., 1938), 335 ff.

[34] Observations of his youth in Georgia conveyed by the late Professor Ulrich B. Phillips to the author.

[35] *Harper's Weekly,* June 1, 1872.

venient not to be able to use the early morning train on Sunday to meet a preaching engagement. In the larger cities street cars seemed necessary as a means of transportation for many to church. Many factories found it economical to operate on a seven-day week basis.[36] Men who worked hard six days a week sought congenial associates, and in some communities, owners of saloons endeavored to keep their establishments open on Sunday. Many persons, employed during the week, protested that museums, art galleries, libraries, and expositions were practically available to them only on Sunday, when they were closed.

Much of church-going America, however, feared that any considerable relaxing of traditional standards would mean a secularizing of the day, with a decline in spiritual interests. In the late 1860's at a Norwegian Lutheran college in Iowa, one Lutheran clergyman was offended because the students played "catch" on a Sunday afternoon, and the President had to adopt regulations such as would not disappoint the expectations of church people.[37] The rector of a fashionable Episcopal Church in New York City (St. Paul's) pleaded in 1877 for a resistance of Christian men and women against encroachments on the quiet of the old-fashioned Sunday. He advised walking rather than driving to church, refraining from giving Sunday dinner parties, and showing to children and guests by the books and papers in the home that a difference was observed between Sunday and other days.[38]

By 1886, a large and increasing number of people in Boston and its suburbs, it was noted, did not observe Sunday by church-going or in a definitely religious manner. Yet, Cleveland, Ohio was far less observant, for it allowed the saloons to open on Sunday, against the protests of the newspapers and the Catholic and Protestant clergy.[39]

Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1886 made an aggressive attack upon the efforts of churchmen to secure more strict observance

[36] Jacoby, *op. cit.*, 10.
[37] Karen Larsen, *Laur. Larsen, Pioneer College President,* 190.
[38] Hodges, *Henry C. Potter* (N. Y., 1915), 105.
[39] *The Independent,* XXXVIII, p. 78.

of Sunday ordinances. She contended that many young men in the cities were not churchgoers and often had no home or books, only an attic room without a fire. She advocated the opening on Sunday of libraries, picture galleries, museums, menageries, concert halls, theatres, and skating rinks, as well as classes for adult education in the public schools and at Cooper Union.[40]

A struggle had begun in 1859 to make available reading privileges on Sunday in the Boston Public Library. Finally, it was opened, beginning in February 1873, for ten hours each Sunday. The readers there were mainly men, apparently those unable to use the Library on other afternoons. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Museum of Comparative Zoology in Cambridge, and the Harvard Library were later opened on Sunday, the last mentioned for the first time in October 1890. A clergyman, who later became President of Western Reserve University, commented that these new Sunday privileges seemed justified, for they gave instruction or recreation to those unable to secure them on other days.[41]

Yet, well-intentioned representatives of the older traditions sometimes held steadfastly to their convictions. Mrs. Robert L. Stuart of New York City, widow of a wealthy sugar refiner, was generous to church benevolences and to public causes. With the opening of museums on Sunday, however, she withheld support from organizations taking that step. Furthermore, the fine Stuart art collection and books were given to the Lenox Library (later part of the New York Public Library), but with the perpetual restriction that the room housing these collections be closed to the public on Sundays.[42]

A highly controversial test of Sunday observance arose in connection with the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 and the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Church members looked upon these as primarily places of amusement, while others stressed the educational aspects. Eventually, the management bowed to the traditions of the

[40] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Our Boys on Sunday," *The Forum,* I (April 1886), 191-98.

[41] Rev. Charles F. Thwing in *The Independent,* XXXIII, Jan. 27, 1881.

[42] *D.A.B.,* XVIII, 176-177.

churches and to British precedent in closing the Centennial Exposition on Sundays.[43] Obviously, this decision was not wholly salutary, for it left many visitors from afar to spend their time on Sunday as they might find opportunity.

In 1892, when the question was raised as to the opening on Sundays of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Cardinal Gibbons favored access to the exhibits on Sunday afternoons, as offering educational benefits to the working man and his family, but he wished all machinery stopped and the necessity for labor there kept at a minimum.[44] Bishop Henry C. Potter of the Episcopal Church took a similar position.[45]

A committee of churchmen under the chairmanship of Wilbur F. Crafts had functioned as the National World's Fair Sabbath Closing Committee. At the Convention of the Christian Endeavor Society in New York City, emphatic unanimity was voiced in favor of closing. Eventually, after Congressional hearings, Congress passed a Sunday closing law.[46]

In view of the disregard for Sunday observance sentiment on the part of many social leaders and by large numbers of the foreign-born in the populous cities, and in view of the Continental ideas of Sunday observance followed in such a city as New Orleans, severe tensions were involved.[47] John W. Chadwick, noted Unitarian preacher, was one who maintained that while Sunday was needed for religious thought and worship, important also was a broader use of the day for wholesome recreation and education.[48]

At first, after the Exposition at Chicago had opened, on a Sunday, crowds "surged and clamored about the gates; they tried to play confidence games on the exit turnstiles; they offered bluffings and bribes to the gate keepers. But they could not get in." Obviously, closing was "a triumph for the rural

[43] Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America,* 307.
[44] Will, *Gibbons,* I, 568-9.
[45] Potter, "Sunday and the Columbian Exposition," *The Forum* (Oct. 1892), 198-9.
[46] The vote was 147:61 in the House; 52:14 in the Senate.
[47] *Harper's Weekly,* Oct. 15, 1892.
[48] "Why the Fair Must be Open on Sunday," *The Forum,* XIV (Dec. 1892), 541-53.

Sabbatarians, but it brought disappointment and sorrow to thousands and thousands of working folks."[49] The pressure for Sunday opening was so insistent that, three weeks later, the Exposition was open on Sunday, May 28. Crowds surged on to the grounds and thronged the exhibition halls, although all parts of the Exposition were not open.[50] But, after a few weeks, religious reasons and the fact that the Fair was only partially open contributed to such poor attendance that Sunday opening proved financially unwise and was discontinued.[51]

In 1881 a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* had asserted that the protest against the Puritan Sabbath had become universal, but he expressed the fear that "the uncurbed sentiment of a wild democracy" regarding Sunday observance might ensue. To him, Sunday ought to continue as a day of rest but with more flexibility as to individual needs, for:

> Some need sleep; some sunshine; some domestic cheer; some, an awakening book; some, the patch of fresh grass or the forest ramble; some, the inspiration of friends; some, the quiet of prayer; some, the words of the spiritual teacher; some, the great sacrifice of spiritual refreshment.

To him, one of the great wastes of time for many had been the unreasonable Sunday restrictions which prevented genuine enrichment of life. The running of horse cars on Sunday; excursions on that day into the suburbs; the opening of libraries, museums, and other mediums of popular education; lectures and concerts; the Sunday newspaper;—all these he deemed necessary for the best use of Sunday. Yet, he also emphasized the need for more vital efforts to make both the family and the church centers of inspiration and power.[52]

How to escape from the rigidity of outmoded stereotypes of Sabbath observance without falling into the excesses of the "uncurbed sentiments of a wild democracy" worried many

[49] *Chicago Times,* May 8, 1893, quoted in *Harper's Weekly,* May 20, 1893.
[50] *Harper's Weekly,* June 10, 1893.
[51] *The Nation,* LVII (July 20, 1893), 39.
[52] Julius H. Ward, "The New Sunday," *Atlantic Monthly,* XLVII (April 1881), 526-37.

progressive church leaders. Leonard Bacon, prominent Congregationalist of New Haven, Connecticut, on the other hand, expressed the conservative viewpoint when he baldly asserted:

> The Sabbath can be preserved as a beneficial element in our civilization only by observing it, and carefully guarding it as a day of rest from work, and rest for all.[53]

Another leader of Congregationalism who had a reputation for liberality, Newman Smyth, maintained that not only religious sanctions but "social morality," involving the needs of family life and the moral and physical well-being of the working class, required effective Sunday observance.[54]

To insure for many Americans an opportunity for Sunday rest which would not prove to be monotonous boredom often presented definite dilemmas. Recreation through golf was early sought by many, as all over the nation, hundreds of country clubs were established, most of them in the years after 1885. Such sport was apt to involve Sunday labor for caddies and other employees. Toward the end of the century, in some communities around Boston, police sometimes interfered to stop Sunday golf, but on some noted links, playing on the Sabbath was prohibited by club action. Gradually, however, by 1900, most country clubs permitted Sunday golf if not disturbing to the calm of the neighborhood. Yet, tournaments, involving more than customary exercise and some fanfare, were often prohibited on Sunday. In some places, moreover, an effort was made to avert unnecessary Sunday employment by prohibiting the use of caddies.[55]

As early as 1885, on a summer Sunday in the upper part of New York City, the Harlem River area was full of row boats with oarsmen wearing the uniforms of the boating clubs which had establishments along the river.[56] Toward the end of the century, New York City's Speedway was generally crowded on

[53] "The Observance of the Sabbath," *North American Review,* CXXI (Oct. 1880), 327.
[54] "Shall Sunday Be Preserved?", *The Forum,* II (Oct. 1886), 182-190.
[55] *Harper's Weekly,* Dec. 16, 1899.
[56] *Harper's Weekly,* Aug. 22, 1885.

Sunday, but racing was not permitted on the public Speedway in Boston.[57]

In 1871, the liberal Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., wrote to Harriet Beecher Stowe that he even refrained from reading novels on Sunday, at least until "after sundown," not as a matter of principle, "but as a tribute to the holy superstitions of more innocent years."[58] Many, however, of the rising generation no longer paid homage to such "holy superstitions," and honest differences of opinion often became rather intense.

Some of the strains of the time were illustrated when, in 1895, the Maine Methodist Conference's Committee on Sabbath Observance recommended that Sunday be not crowded with so many services as to weary worshippers and that "such recreation as brings real rest to the body and soul be not prohibited." The report was not accepted, and one of the brethren expressed the view that "the committee was knocking the foundations out of the Methodist Church, and it was drifting to Hell."[59]

In the fall of 1899, Professor George H. Barton of Massachusetts Institute of Technology conducted a party of Boston teachers across Massachusetts on a Saturday, and on Sunday led them on a geological tour up Greylock Mountain. The Baptist Church of North Adams protested to him that his project had disregarded the Christian sentiment of the community. The geologist courteously replied that week-end days were the only ones available to the teachers and that he did not feel it a misuse of the day to study the handiwork of the Creator, especially as, on the mountaintop, he read to the students from a book, *The Thoughts of God.*[60]

In 1899, the Diocesan Convention of the Episcopal Church, meeting in New York City, expressed sorrow at the prevalence of bicycle riding, golfing, and dinner parties on the Lord's Day, and issued a reminder that no nation which did not respect Sunday ever prospered. A national magazine, however, ex-

[57] *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1899.
[58] Letter of Sept. 25, 1871, in J. T. Morse, Jr., *Life and Letters of O. W. Holmes,* II, 230.
[59] *Harper's Weekly,* June 22, 1895.
[60] *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1899.

pressed doubts as to whether the clergy were the best judges as to wise Sunday observance.[61]

The same periodical had earlier called attention to the "ridiculous" way in which chaplains and religious papers contended—during the Spanish-American War—that forces beginning a fight on Sunday would surely be beaten. This periodical pointed out that Admiral Dewey had undertaken on a Sunday Morning, May 1, his memorable expedition against the Spanish ships in Manila Bay. It observed, moreover, "If the Almighty is not too squeamish to tolerate war on week-days, the chances are that He can stand it on Sundays also."[62]

Sometimes strict Sunday observance seemed to interfere, moreover, with a basic Christian consideration for others. The Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, author of the immensely popular, *In His Steps,* was firmly of the belief that no one except a minister should be actively employed on Sunday. Hence, street cars and public and private conveyances of all kinds should not be in operation on Sundays, except perhaps in cases of grave necessity. Late, in October, 1900, Sheldon was in New York City for a Sunday morning service in Carnegie Hall and held an evening service in Brooklyn. Having spent Saturday night in Brooklyn, he demonstrated his convictions by walking over to Manhattan for the morning service and back to Brooklyn for the later one. But, he was an hour late in arriving for the evening service and kept five hundred persons waiting for his appearance![63] Many might surmise that the best of intentions ofttimes miscarried.

[61] *Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1899.
[62] *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1898.
[63] *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1900.

CHAPTER VIII

Temperance and the Control of Liquor and Gambling

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REALISTIC churchmen of the nineteenth century knew well that the control of liquor, like the disciplining of sex, has always been fraught with difficulties. Yet, it was evident to them that here was a challenge which they could not ignore. Doubtless in this situation there were many persons who, spurred on by a perverted Puritanism, found satisfaction in denying pleasure to others. But, many sincerely hoped to create conditions under which unalloyed joy of living might supplant the fleeting, hectic pleasures of the realm of King Alcohol. A liberal Roman Catholic bishop, Rev. John L. Spalding of Peoria, wrote in 1884 that it was "a common fallacy" among those pandering to the lower tastes of mankind to assert that those seeking to suppress drunkenness (and other forms of vice) by legislation, if necessary, were striving to take the joy out of life. Yet, in reality, according to his experience, "the misery, the gloom, the despair of life" were bound up with the excesses of mankind.[1]

Even in the years before the Civil War, idealists seeking to fashion a more perfect society in America had stressed the need for democratically sanctioned discipline in relation to drink. Such would mean, they thought, a signal triumph over disease and poverty, filth and misery, drunken husbands who beat their wives and sent their children into the streets to beg, and liquor dealers who prospered while their erstwhile customers filled the almshouses and debtors' jails.[2]

[1] Letter of May 27, 1884, in Sister Joan Bland, *Hibernian Crusade* (Washington, 1951), 116.

[2] John A. Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (N. Y., 1925), 298.

At first, both supporters and opponents of the movement against the use of intoxicants agreed that "the greatest single force in the movement was the power of evangelical Protestantism."[3] In Europe the situation had been decidedly different, for the evangelical sects on the continent and Scotch Presbyterians were definitely not total abstainers. Calvin himself had taught no dogmatic principles on the subject. Yet, in the United States, evangelical Protestantism, both Calvinistic and Arminian, had come to be permeated by a zealous moralism on the subject. Congregationalism, Methodism, Baptist societies, and to a lesser extent, Presbyterianism, had given the movement "a religious significance which placed it on the plane of the spiritual."[4] Especially to the New England Puritan, it was a matter of grave concern that the manners and morals of his neighbors should be pleasing in the sight of God.[5] Not only moral suasion but prohibitory enactments seemed called for, and in the field of legislation the Maine law of 1851 was deemed a great initial victory.

Neal Dow, well-known Portland merchant, had absorbed the teachings of his Quaker faith regarding the evils of intemperance, and his crusading efforts had led to the "Maine Law" of 1851. This prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, with enforcement provided by the use of search and seizure warrants and fines payable to the prosecuting officers.[6]

Encouraged by this victory, apostles of temperance throughout the country sought vigorously to secure similar legislation in other states. Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts—strongholds of persisting Puritan traditions—promptly followed the Maine precedent for a time.[7] By 1855 in every Northern

[3] *Ibid.*, 300.

[4] *Ibid.*, 304.

[5] For the attitude of the Protestant clergy, see John R. Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues,* 183-190.

[6] Krout, *op. cit.*, 283-295. Rioting against Prohibition in Portland in 1856 led to the repeal of the law, but it was reenacted in 1858 and put beyond legislative control by inclusion in the state constitution in 1885.

[7] For a summary of the attitudes and influence of the churches toward liquor control before the Civil War, see Anson P. Stokes, *Church and State in the U. S.*, II, 40-42.

state except New Jersey, legislative action had led to some kind of restrictive measures.[8]

The Civil War period with its strains and tensions, accompanied by an effort to find a "crutch" for fear and sorrow, had led to increased liquor consumption. Boys away from home in the service had often been initiated into an informal drinking fraternity. In the post-war reaction against idealism, moreover, when feverish prosperity led to much easy living, the consumption of intoxicants increased rapidly. This trend was accentuated by the large influx of European immigrants, a large part of whom came from regions where the drinking of intoxicants was the prevailing custom.[9]

Beer after 1850 had had a rapid increase in popularity with the great influx of German settlers. In general, however, in most American homes during the years after the Civil War, whiskey and even wine were not to be found. Wine was frowned upon by the average American family even for use on ceremonial occasions, and city hotels seldom served intoxicants in the dining rooms.[10]

Religious organizations, however, were alarmed by the debauchery often associated with excessive drinking in saloons and taverns. The Presbyterian General Assembly (Old School) in 1865 decreed that manufacturers and sellers of liquor should be excluded from church membership, because such activity was "a sin against the brethren and against Christ." This position was reaffirmed from time to time, and other religious bodies took comparable action in attacking the problem.[11]

A remarkable development in church circles took place as a result of the activities of Diocletian Lewis, an enthusiast for physical culture and temperance measures. In 1871 he had undertaken lectures before women's temperance groups, advocating moral suasion rather than legal measures as a solution of the problem.[12] In a lecture on the evening of December 14,

[8] Arthur C. Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict* (N. Y., 1934), 161-2.
[9] Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America,* 260.
[10] *Ibid.,* 211-12.
[11] *Minutes of the Presbyterian General Assembly, U.S.A., 1865* (Philadelphia, 1865), 573; *ibid., 1881* (Philadelphia, 1881), 188.
[12] *D.A.B.,* XI, 209.

1873 Lewis had appealed to the women of Fredonia, New York, and on December 17, similarly to the women of Jamestown to use their influence against the saloon interests. Prayer meetings were organized, but little or no success was secured in closing liquor establishments.[13] About a week later, however, lectures by Lewis at Hillsboro, Ohio led to prayer meetings and the founding of the Woman's Crusade. Under the leadership of Mrs. Eliza J. Thompson (daughter of former governor Allen Trimble, and wife of a judge) about seventy-five women gathered at a church for singing and prayer. Then, they in effect inaugurated the Woman's Crusade by marching in double columns to the saloons of the town where they appealed to the owners to abandon their business. A little later, at nearby Washington Court House, the wives of three evangelical ministers led similar meetings. A committee of sixty women then went to several drinking establishments where they sang hymns and offered prayers. One proprietor, moved by the pleas of the pious women, offered to give up his business, and barrels of liquor were rolled into the street and set on fire. Within a few days eleven saloons in the town were closed. The movement spread, and church women in many communities invaded drinking emporiums for hymn-singing and prayer.[14] Many men who were church leaders were somewhat embarrassed by such activities on the part of their wives, saloon interests rose to the defense of their businesses, and after two months, the Crusade lost its immediate force. The movement had started in a part of Ohio where Southern, rather than New England, influences were strong, and where whiskey drinking was especially prevalent. The church women during the period of this "temperance revival" succeeded in closing about a hundred liquor shops.[15]

The Crusade, moreover, led to the formation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union at a convention in Cleveland in November 1874. Recruiting membership almost entirely from

[13] Ernest H. Cherrington, *The Evolution of Prohibition in the U. S. of A.* (Westerville, Ohio, 1920), 170.

[14] Eugene H. Roseboom and Francis P. Weisenburger, *A History of Ohio* (Columbus, 1953), 233.

[15] *Harper's Weekly,* Mar. 7, 1874.

the ranks of the Protestant evangelical churches and adopting the "white ribbon" as the symbol of their commitment, the organization became a power in American life. Frances Willard, a remarkable woman who had been Corresponding Secretary of the American Methodist Ladies' Centenary Association in 1865-6, and later Dean of Women of the Woman's College of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, became first Corresponding Secretary of the new organization.[16] The first president was Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, widely known for her activity with the Sanitary and Christian Commission during the Civil War. She also was prominent in the Methodist Church, having organized, with the cooperation of Bishop Matthew Simpson, the Woman's Home Missionary Society in 1871. Other church leaders in the new organization were Mrs. Abby Fisher Leavitt, former state secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society of Ohio and a leader of the "Praying Band" at Cincinnati during the Woman's Crusade there, who became treasurer, and Mary Livermore, an active Unitarian and a woman's rights lecturer.[17]

Frances Willard was a vivacious person who aroused an amazing devotion to her on the part of other women.[18] Furthermore, the number of outstanding church women in the new organization served as a magnetic appeal to other religious-minded women and helped to obtain the strong support of male leaders in the churches.[19]

Particularly important was the use of the public schools to accomplish temperance instruction. Systematic pressure was employed in state after state to impose "scientific" temperance instruction as part of the prescribed curriculum. Some medical experts contended that some of the textbooks employed were "neither scientific, nor temperate, nor instructive," but the teaching was not without influential results upon the rising generation.[20] The organization continued to expand in membership and influence. In 1889 it was reported that Mrs. Mary

[16] Mary Earhart, *From Prayers to Politics* (Chicago, 1944), 54 ff., 143.
[17] *Ibid.*, 144 ff.
[18] *Ibid.*, 75-79.
[19] *Ibid.*, 147.
[20] Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City*, 354.

Clement Leavitt (previously mentioned) had travelled about 70,000 miles in the previous five years and had addressed audiences in many different countries.[21] In the South, slavery and the War had brought a strong feeling against the involvement of the church in political activity, hence moral suasion was constantly used with vigor as an alternative. In 1867 three different firms advertised whiskey in the *New Orleans Christian Advocate* for six months. At that time grocery stores sold liquor, and "habitual drinking and drunkenness were found everywhere," even in church circles.[22]

When Southern Methodist leaders, appalled by mounting evidence of dissipation, urged a more active church effort against the evils of drink, some contended that Scriptural authority was lacking for such a policy. Yet, after heated debate the General Conference of 1886 decreed that the manufacture and sale of intoxicants should be punishable as "immorality" and should no longer be deemed merely imprudent conduct. As the years went by, opposition to the liquor traffic became increasingly pronounced. Conferences gave support to popular temperance education and to organizations like the Sons of Temperance and Friends of Temperance. In spite of expressed fears of clerical interference in politics, after 1880, quarterly, district, and annual conferences sought to influence elections in favor of local option and prohibition. Local option laws had been enacted in all Southern states by 1890.[23]

Southern Baptists, with vigorous ideas of the separation of church and state, avoided a commitment on social legislation in general, but the liquor evil compelled them to make an exception.[24] Southern Presbyterians had similar objections to church interference in politics, and the Tuscaloosa Presbytery (Alabama) in 1883 refused to aid the W.C.T.U. in its efforts for state prohibition, but greater enthusiasm for temperance causes developed in later years.[25]

[21] *Harper's Weekly,* Nov. 30, 1889.
[22] Farish, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts,* 305-9.
[23] *Ibid.,* 310-324.
[24] Glenn N. Sisk, "Churches in the Alabama Black Belt, 1875-1917," *Church History,* XXIII (June 1954), 159.
[25] *Ibid.,* 169.

The liquor question had been carried into the highest social circles of the land during the Rutherford B. Hayes Administration. Mrs. Hayes was a winsome but sturdy Methodist, and on the day her husband was inaugurated, President Frederick Merrick of the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware had written her predicting "what a thrill of joy" would go through "millions of hearts" throughout the world, if intoxicants were not served in the White House during the forthcoming administration. He declared that historically it would stand by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and eventually might even outshine it.[26]

Dr. Merrick knew that liquor was not served in the Hayes home in Ohio, Lucy Webb Hayes being a total abstainer from youth. At first, when an official dinner was given to the visiting Grand Duke of Russia, a wine punch was served, at the virtual insistence of the State Department. Later, however, it became known that wine would not be served in the future, even at such affairs. In general the influential Protestant press, as well as temperance organs, gave unstinted praise.[27]

Mrs. Hayes, contrary to often expressed report, was not a member of the W.C.T.U., but she was dubbed "Lemonade Lucy" by the drinking fraternity, and many held that she had dictated to her husband in the matter. The President was opposed to prohibition, and when released from Civil War service had gone "on a toot" in Cincinnati. He now insisted, however, that it was he who initiated the White House policy, in a way of course gratifying to Mrs. Hayes, as a "wise and useful" example to the country, and in the midst of the furor he became a total abstainer for the first time.[28]

President McKinley, who, like Mrs. Hayes, was an ardent Methodist, during his Administration ran into temperance problems, but his actions were not so favorably received by temperance forces. At a Methodist Ministers' Conference in Boston

[26] Harry Barnard, *Rutherford B. Hayes and His America* (Indianapolis, 1954), 479.

[27] *Ibid.*, 480.

[28] *Ibid.*, 481, 590; Curtis W. Garrison, "President Hayes: The Opponent of Prohibition," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* (July-Oct., 1944), 171 ff.

early in 1900, Rev. Samuel Dickie denounced McKinley for not fighting the saloon and expressed deep regret that the President had not declared himself a total abstainer. McKinley, according to Dickie, had lowered the standard of Methodism more than any man who "ever trod American soil." Rev. Wilbur Crafts, another ardent prohibitionist, expressed similar opinions.[29]

Methodists were the strongest advocates of the abolition of the canteen where liquor was available in the army service, and Congressman Noble J. Johnson of North Dakota, who was the author of an Anti-canteen law passed by Congress in 1899, was a member of the Methodist General Conference Committee on Temperance. Attorney-General John W. Griggs, however, had interpreted the law to the dissatisfaction of Methodist temperance leaders, who contended that the sale of liquor could "never be legalized without sin," and that the canteen system did legalize it.[30] Much of American public opinion felt that the army canteen, serving drinks in a controlled situation, kept soldiers out of less desirable places, and Archbishop Ireland, a strong temperance advocate in the Catholic Church, shared this view.[31]

During the Presidential campaign of 1900, however, W.C.T.U. leaders in Indiana employed an "endless chain" letter plan, calling for prayers until the election that the country might have "a better man for President, who will keep wine from the White House table, and will be a total abstainer himself, and do what he can to overthrow the liquor traffic."[32] But, McKinley was easily reelected over the total abstainer, William Jennings Bryan.

As the W.C.T.U. moved from moral suasion to political pressure as a practical means of securing temperance, similar trends were noted in other organizations concerned with the liquor traffic. Francis Murphy, an Irish Catholic, who had come to the

[29] *Harper's Weekly,* Apr. 7, 1900. During the next year some of the less charitable and rather fanatical temperance people asserted that McKinley would have survived his fatal wound if he had not been a "beer-swiller."

[30] *Ibid.,* May 26, 1900.

[31] Moynihan, *Ireland,* 234.

[32] *Harper's Weekly,* Sept. 15, 1900.

United States in 1852 had become a heavy drinker, but signed a total abstinence pledge in 1870. Affiliating himself with Protestantism, he became a leading temperance reformer and is said to have addressed 25,000 meetings and secured over 12,000,000 signatures to a temperance pledge. Even better known was John Gough, who had lost his wife and first child while he was experiencing a drunken debauch. After trying vicissitudes he became a teetotaler, and is said to have lectured in all to over nine million people. His appeal was highly dramatic, as he easily moved his audience to laughter and to tears.[33]

Some evangelists of the time like Dwight L. Moody stressed personal conversion of the individual as the only substantial road to temperance. Other evangelists, notably the fiery Alabaman, Sam P. Jones, sought the legislative approach. In a revivalistic effort in Toledo, Ohio in 1899 he exclaimed that any town such as Toledo which could put up with 700 saloons was "the nastiest place next to hell." Furthermore, his personal approach was emphasized when he shouted, "I'm a prohibitionist from snout to tail." After Jones's revivals ministerial and lay leaders frequently organized Law and Order Leagues to channel support for prohibition measures (as well as the enforcement of Blue Laws). Especially in the South these activities were crucial in securing state prohibition enactments.[34]

Some churches attempted to cope with the liquor evil by forming organizations like the "Andrew and Philip Society" of Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City, to aid penniless and dissolute men. Each Sunday afternoon, clothing was distributed, and the hungry were fed in the basement of the church. Before the meal a temperance talk was given in the chapel, and after the meal there was an informal Gospel Hymn service.[35]

Of course, the Salvation Army (and later, the Volunteers of

[33] Honoré W. Morrow, *Tiger! Tiger! The Life Story of John B. Gough* (New York, 1930).

[34] William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959), 329.

[35] *Harper's Weekly*, Apr. 28, 1877.

America), as "The Church of the Black Sheep," went into the most unpromising areas of the large cities, endeavoring to reclaim the unfortunate, including those who had fallen prey to drink.[36]

Some recognized the need for Coffee Houses or "Squirrel Inns" where men might find social contacts without the evils of strong drink. In Cleveland, in 1877 socially-minded women were conducting a number of "Friendly Inns," each with a chapel, reading room, restaurant, and sleeping quarters.[37] Bishop Potter of the Protestant Episcopal Church toward the end of the century declared that some institution providing inexpensive refreshment and socialibility (as did the saloon), was a social necessity.[38] Another leading Episcopal clergyman, William S. Rainsford, even maintained that good saloons selling good liquor at a fair price were much needed. Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, noted as a reformer, in a sermon, conceded that saloons often fed the hungry and aided the friendless. A disinterested observer, at the same time pointed out a major drawback of temperance emporiums, as they were "liable to stink a little of virtue," providing an atmosphere in which the normal man "blooms somewhat sadly." Yet, substitutes for the saloon, which in Catholic parishes were often called "Temperance Halls," performed a constructive service.[39]

Various temperance societies were organized in Protestant congregations. Knights of Temperance, who were expected to be total abstainers but not prohibitionists, sometimes attended church in a body in uniform.[40] Another order, the Grand Lodge of Good Templars, sought prohibition legislation and, in case of failure in this respect, high license fees.[41]

Leaders in Protestant circles spearheaded the movement that founded the Prohibition Party in 1869, and offered presidential candidates in succeeding election years, though the overwhelm-

[36] *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1893, Mar. 14, 1896.
[37] *Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1877.
[38] *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1899.
[39] *Ibid.*; Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action*, 40-45.
[40] *Toledo Blade*, June 12, 1886, in *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, XXV, 232.
[41] Thomas C. Cochran, *The Pabst Brewing Co.* (N. Y., 1948), 303.

ing number of church people remained in the major political parties.[42]

Individual churches sometimes made effective efforts to cope with liquor evils. The influential Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, on one occasion prevented the establishment of a new saloon at the entrance to Brooklyn Bridge. Having ascertained that thirty-six saloons were already operating within two blocks of the entrance, church leaders placed a table in front of the pulpit as a means of securing signatures against the new establishment. Over five hundred signatures from men of the congregation were obtained, a church committee to act was appointed, legal talent was secured, and results followed. As a consequence of the efforts of the assistant minister of this congregation, furthermore, over a period of two years, fourteen liquor licenses were cancelled.[43]

Some religious leaders were disturbed by alleged drunkenness at the colleges. In 1898 a committee on Temperance of the Cleveland, Ohio presbytery of the Presbyterian Church reported:

> Our Church and the world have been shocked by the prevalence of drunkenness at Princeton College, through the indifference and connivance of its management, the mere mention of which causes the hot, indignant blood to mantle our cheeks.[44]

The question involved the serving of liquor at the Princeton Inn in the college town, and a committee on Temperance of the New York presbytery took a more restrained stand:

> While everyone deplores the existence of drinking resorts in the vicinity of these seats of learning, it is a well attested fact that the moral and religious tone of all our higher institutions was never more healthy, positive, and elevated than at the present time.[45]

Yet, this situation at Princeton aroused so much feeling that it seems to have been a factor in causing Rev. Charles W.

[42] Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements* (Iowa City, 1916), 95.
[43] Lyman Abbott, *Reminiscences*, 371-2.
[44] *Harper's Weekly*, April 30, 1898.
[45] *Ibid.*

Shields, a Presbyterian minister and professor at Princeton, to become affiliated with the Episcopal Church.[46]

Some temperance advocates turned increasingly after 1875 from moral suasion to a demand for prohibitory legislation. At Oberlin College, traditionally a seat of reform fervor, a mass meeting in March 1874 had led to the establishment of the Oberlin Temperance Alliance, committed to the complete suppression of the liquor traffic and of the use of intoxicants. The first president was James H. Fairchild, head of Oberlin College. The Alliance, with the aid of other college towns began agitation which led to the passage of an Ohio law, the Metcalf Local Option Act, providing local option liquor control for college towns (1882). Later, pressure from churches and others resulted in a Township Local Option Law.[47]

In 1893 a zealous, sometimes bitterly uncompromising reformer, Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts, resigned from the editorship of the *Christian Statesman,* official publication of the National Reform Association, to set up a "Christian Legislative Bureau" in Washington, on Capitol Hill. For a generation he was to be the aggressive spokesman for legislation relating to liquor but also gambling, impurity, Sabbath-breaking, and similar moral questions.[48]

The spirit of reform led further to the formation of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League at Oberlin, June 4, 1893. It was not the first such organization in the country but became a most effective one and became the model for other state organizations. A national Anti-Saloon League, organized at Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., followed.[49]

Even before the organization of the state League, individual pastors like Rev. W. C. Hopkins, rector of Grace Episcopal Church, Toledo, Ohio, had urged churches to get behind the movement.[50] In the 1890's some Catholic priests gave support to the League, and eventually it was a major factor in securing

[46] Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1946,* 284-5, 374-5.
[47] Peter Odegard, *Pressure Politics* (N. Y., 1928), 2-3.
[48] Stokes, *Church and State,* II, 273-75.
[49] Odegard, *op. cit.,* 5-6.
[50] *Toledo Blade,* June 12, 1886 in *Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* XXV, 232.

national prohibition for a period after World War I. A leading student of the subject tells us that the churches constituted the "backbone of the organization," although League officials declared that without the functioning of this organization the Church was politically powerless on the liquor question.[51]

The interest in temperance was, as we have seen, also a deep concern of many in the Roman Catholic Church. Before 1840 Catholic temperance societies, and at least one Catholic Total Abstinence Society, had been organized in the United States, and the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore (1846) had recommended temperance societies in all parishes.[52] Great impetus to the movement had been given by the efforts of the crusading Irish priest, Father Theobold Mathew, who had secured phenomenal results for temperance in the Emerald Isle and had spent the years 1849-1851 in similar activity in the United States.[53] The return of Father Mathew to Ireland, economic despondency accompanying the Panic of 1857-8, and the strain of the Civil War had not been aids to temperate living. For Catholics, the situation was faced by the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866) which besought pastors to labor energetically for the extirpation of the vice of drunkenness. This ecclesiastical decree set the pattern for the Catholic Abstinence movement in the United States, by insisting, as Father Mathew had not done, that it must be unqualifiedly under the authority of the bishops and must stress prayer, the frequent reception of the Sacraments, and other supernatural means of overcoming the weaknesses of man.[54]

Soon, local and state unions were functioning, particularly in the New England and North Atlantic states. A vigorous and untiring leader was Reverend John Ireland, who had been born in Ireland. Along the frontier in Minnesota, Father (later Archbishop) Ireland had found intemperance the most serious obstacle to religious work, as many were brutalized and pauperized by drink. Later, on a night in 1869, three men, unsteady

[51] Odegard, *op. cit.*, 17.
[52] Sister Joan Bland, *Hibernian Crusade,* 10-11.
[53] *Ibid.*, 21-42.
[54] *Ibid.*, 43-47.

from much drinking but aware of their sorry plight, called on Ireland and presented a crumpled piece of paper with the petition, "For God's sake, organize a Temperance Society." It had been signed by seven men in a saloon. Ireland organized a Total Abstinence Society the next Sunday. Later he went from hut to hut and from village to village, preaching the evils of excessive drink.[55]

Ireland believed that much of the social and moral plight of immigrants, especially among the Irish in the United States, was due to their congested life in shanty towns of the large cities. He aided (1879) in the founding of the Irish Catholic Colonization Society. In each settlement Ireland placed a church as the center of life, and the saloon was banned.[56]

In February 1872, the first Convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America was held in Baltimore, with 207 societies represented. Some might have preferred a less drastic objective than total abstinence, but Father Mathew had been committed to that pattern, and among reformers, uncompromising zeal provides its own elements of strength. Among the early leaders was Rev. John J. Keane, a native of Ireland, who was then a young priest in Washington, D. C. and who as a youth had taken the abstinence pledge from Father Mathew. Later, Keane became bishop of Richmond (1878), first rector of the Catholic University of America (1886), and eventually Archbishop of Dubuque (1900). He was ever a zealous supporter of the movement.[57] For some years "moral suasion" and the signing of total abstinence pledges were basic, and in 1877, the organization insured complete adherence to Catholic discipline by requiring all members to be practical Catholics, each Society to take Communion as a body at least once a year, and each Society to have as its Spiritual Director the local pastor who must approve all the laws of the society.[58]

Keane, as Bishop of Richmond, made vigorous efforts for temperance. He joined leading citizens in trying to have liquor

[55] Moynihan, *Ireland,* 11-12, 220-224; Bland, *op. cit.,* 47-62.
[56] Moynihan, *Ireland,* 22-31.
[57] Bland, *op. cit.,* 63.
[58] Bland, *op. cit.,* 98.

sales stopped on Sunday, making speeches and writing a letter to the Virginia legislature on that subject. In December 1880, he called a meeting of the Catholic liquor dealers of Richmond to persuade them to abandon the business or at least to conduct it so as to minimize the harm done. At this conference, thirty men signed an agreement that they would not keep their liquor establishments open on Sunday, and that they and their employees would not sell intoxicants to those who were inebriated or nearly in that condition.[59] He, furthermore, made many temperance lectures throughout the diocese and often used visitation tours and pastoral letters to express a good word for total abstinence.[60]

Keane eschewed the fanaticism which insisted that intoxicants are an evil in themselves but declared in 1882 that Catholics had a duty to give up even good things if they led to sin or if they were a source of degradation to weaker brethren.[61] In 1884, he went so far as to express the hope that the efforts of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union would not be relaxed until there was not one Catholic drunkard or one Catholic liquor dealer in the United States to bring "the blush of shame" to the Church's cheek.[62]

Archbishop Ireland, by 1884 had come to believe that moral suasion alone was inadequate, even declaring, "The state alone can save us." The immediate objective, as he saw it, was the reduction of the excessive number of saloons by a high license fee. This viewpoint was then receiving considerable support from unions of the Catholic Total Abstinence organizations.[63] The liberal Bishop John L. Spalding went so far as to express the belief that in the United States prohibitory measures would go farther than other means in furthering temperance.[64]

In 1884, the Convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union adopted a memorial to be presented to the forthcoming

[59] Patrick H. Ahern, *The Life of John J. Keane* (Milwaukee, 1955), 48-9.
[60] *Ibid.*, 49.
[61] Bland, *op. cit.*, 106.
[62] Ahern, *Keane*, 49.
[63] Bland, *op. cit.*, 115.
[64] *Ibid.*, 116.

Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. It stressed the especially serious moral degradation which the liquor traffic had produced in the United States and pointed out the difficulty of demonstrating to Protestants the merits of Catholicism when in the immediate neighborhood anyone could see "many Catholics wallowing in the most beastly of all vices." Especially scandalous, it declared, was the way in which saloon keepers sought to identify themselves with the Church, as they rented prominent pews, served on committees, made generous donations in an ostentatious manner, and in some areas, boasted they had built the Catholic churches. It might be feared, the memorial continued, that non-Catholics would conclude that the liquor business "actually meets with the hearty approval of the Catholic Church."[65]

A recent Catholic scholar asserts that the Council of Baltimore of 1884 went as far as it could in meeting the wishes of the temperance advocates "without deviating from established theological norms."[66] In a Pastoral Letter to Catholics in America, the Bishops called for even stricter enforcement of Sunday laws against the liquor traffic. Remarkable, indeed, was the further action, calling all pastors to the responsibility of "inducing all of their flocks that may be engaged in the sale of liquors to abandon as soon as they can the dangerous traffic, and to embrace a more becoming way of making a living."[67] A plea was simultaneously made to Catholic workingmen who were reminded that proper observance of Sunday meant keeping away from drinking places on Saturday night, with the advice, "Carry your wages home to your families, where they rightfully belong. Turn a deaf ear, therefore, to every temptation; and then Sunday will be a bright day for all the family."[68]

An extraordinary aspect of these strong declarations is that, before the Council had met, the church authorities in Rome in consultation with the American archbishops had not even men-

[65] *Ibid.*, 120-1.
[66] *Ibid.*, 123.
[67] Peter Guilday, *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1792-1919* (Washington, 1923), 254.
[68] *Ibid.*

tioned the temperance question. Friends of the movement had effectively labored to achieve their purposes at the Council itself.[69] In implementing the Pastoral Letter, the Council issued certain decrees on the subject, commending the Total Abstinence Union and the Society of "The Sacred Thirst," the latter finding inspiration and example in the self-denial associated with Christ's thirst on the cross.[70] Strong advice, furthermore, was given to Catholic liquor sellers, urging them, where possible, to follow "a more honorable way of making a living," and in any event not to sell to the young or to the obviously weak-willed, nor to keep open on Sunday or allow blasphemy or obscene language on the premises. Intoxicants, moreover, were not to be sold at church picnics and fairs or on excursions.[71]

On one particular matter the bishops who were temperance advocates were not at once successful. Following a Bavarian custom and with the consent of the authorities in Rome, the Benedictine monastery of St. Vincent at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, established by monks from Bavaria, had secured much needed revenue by the making and selling of lager beer. Earlier, the Bishop of Pittsburgh had objected, but the papal authorities had sided with the monks.[72] At the Council, various bishops, including John J. Keane, John L. Spalding, and Richard Gilmour (of Cleveland) had wanted the permission withdrawn. It was held that laymen could hardly be persuaded to abandon a business in which monks engaged and that the situation resulted in prejudice against the Church, as one "of saloon keepers, of men who drink and men who provide the means of drinking."[73]

On the matter of the Benedictine brewmasters the temperance forces at the Council were defeated, but otherwise they secured such "unqualified approbation of the Church that they could work with "a new assurance" and enthusiasm. In 1899,

[69] *Bland, op. cit.*, 124.
[70] *Ibid.*, 126.
[71] *Ibid.*, 127.
[72] Colman J. Barry, *The Catholic Church and the German Americans* (Washington, 1953), 16-17.
[73] Bland, *op. cit.*, 127-128. The question persisted and was brought to the attention of the archbishops again in 1894. *Ibid.*, 187-9.

moreover, Catholic public opinion obliged the Abbey to dismantle its monastic brewery.[74]

The Benedictine beer question, however, illustrated some of the tensions within the Catholic Church during the period. Some Irish-American bishops had been especially vigorous in their temperance efforts, and on many questions their views were deemed more liberal than those of many German-American Catholic leaders. Irish-Americans had been particularly vulnerable in yielding to the evils of the liquor traffic, and Bishop Keane had once said in a lecture, "When I enter a town and see how many Irish Catholic names hang over tavern doors, I hang my head in shame."[75] Yet, priests of all nationalities knew the ravages of the liquor traffic and its ill effects on the work of the Catholic Church in the United States.[76]

On the other hand, German Catholics generally were not inclined toward total abstinence, for they deemed that necessary only for those who could not drink moderately. A Baltimore German Catholic paper in 1892 expressed the opinion, "The Irish may need total abstinence; they know best. The Germans, as a rule, do not need it." Many German Catholics liked to frequent beer gardens on Sunday and to have church picnics where beer was available. Temperance leaders, however, considered these German activities as a source of scandal to Catholics and non-Catholics alike, and some German Catholics occasionally voiced similar concern.[77] Indeed, to the Convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union in 1893 Father George Zurcher, pastor of a German Church at Buffalo Plains, New York, complained in a letter that the rules of the Church were being circumvented by having some Catholic society sell beer at Church picnics and then donate the equivalent of the profits to the Church. Since the society was not the Church it was claimed that there was no violation of the Council of Baltimore.

[74] *Ibid.*, 128; Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action,* 130-131.

[75] Hugh P. McElrone, "Catholics and the Temperance Movement," *The Independent,* XXXVIII (July 29, 1886), 944-5.

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] Bland, *op. cit.,* 144; Ahern, *The Catholic University of America, 1887-1896,* 140.

Similar complaints recurred again and again. Many Germans deemed beer not really an intoxicant and beer drinking not subject to serious abuse.[78]

In 1894, Sebastian G. Messmer, Bishop of Green Bay, published an article in the *Ecclesiastical Review* proposing a great Catholic Temperance League in which men who were unwilling to take a total abstinence pledge might join. It was believed that such an organization could rally wide support to prevent the sale of adulterated drinks, to discourage the practices of treating and of gambling for liquor and to secure practical laws for controlling the traffic. This proposal was almost unanimously rejected by the Catholic Total Abstinence Union leaders who maintained that total abstinence was the one efficacious remedy for the vice of intemperance. In some parishes an effort was made to administer a Teetotal Abstinence pledge to children at the time of their First Communion. But, elsewhere, it was often deemed wiser to pledge them never to enter a saloon or taste intoxicants until twenty-one years of age (and sometimes promise never to enter a Protestant Church except for a funeral).[79]

The work of the Abstinence Union was especially significant in some dioceses like Philadelphia, where Archbishop Patrick John Ryan gave it firm support, recalling that when he had arrived in Philadelphia eleven years before, he found the Cathedral filled with men on a Sunday morning, all of them there to participate in the quarterly Communion of the Total Abstinence Society. He was further informed that a similar scene was being witnessed that day in nearly every Catholic Church in the city. In New York City, the conservative Archbishop Corrigan gave the Union cordial but unenthusiastic support, and in general the work of the Union came to languish in that city. The various Catholic religious orders gave relatively little support to the Union, except for the Paulist Fathers, who gave it most active support both in New York City and in their

[78] *Ibid.*, 175-6.

[79] *Ibid.*, 191-2; *Toledo Blade,* June 14, 1886, quoted in *Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* XXV, 232.

spiritual missions conducted throughout the country.[80] The highly influential Cardinal Gibbons, early in his career had given lectures on temperance, and he had cut short his summer holiday in 1891 to address the Total Abstinence Union. But Gibbons made it clear that he was personally not a teetotaler and was a "temperate" rather than a "temperance" man.[81]

In 1894, Bishop John Watterson of Columbus, Ohio, had gone so far as to announce that he would not approve any new Catholic society and would suspend any existing Catholic society which had saloon keepers among its officers. Furthermore, neither the principal nor the agent in the manufacture or sale of intoxicants could be received into membership in such societies; and saloon keepers carrying on their business in an unedifying way or selling intoxicants on Sunday in violation of the civil law must promise to desist or be denied absolution when they came to receive the sacraments.[82] This drastic action led to an appeal to the Apostolic Delegate Francesco Satolli, then in the United States. He sustained both the principles and the specific measures involved. Archbishop Corrigan of New York accepted the decision but believed that it could not be applied at all times and under all circumstances.[83]

A few Catholic women became active leaders in the W.C.T.U. Mrs. Leonora Lake was most vigorous in organizing a Catholic Woman's Temperance Union and in 1899 reported to the Catholic Total Abstinence Union that during the year she had delivered 160 lectures, traveling over 20,000 miles by rail.[84]

Archbishop Ireland apparently had a part in the deliberations which led to the formation of the Anti-Saloon League in 1893, and eventually priests and Catholic laymen participated actively in its work.[85] In 1895, Bishop Watterson of Columbus journeyed to Toledo to speak at a mass meeting at Memorial Hall under Anti-Saloon League auspices, and on the same oc-

[80] *Ibid.*, 194-195, 271.
[81] Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 535-6.
[82] *The Independent*, XLVI (Mar. 22, 1894), 366.
[83] *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 11, 1894.
[84] Bland, *op. cit.*, 185, 209, 219.
[85] *Ibid.*, 181, 130.

casion, a local priest, Father Edward Hannin, declared that Roman Catholics in the United States wanted their coreligionists to stay out of the saloon business.[86]

At the annual National Convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America in New York, in August 1895, a great throng filled Carnegie Hall with thousands unable to get in. The President, Rev. James M. Cleary, believed that a man could not really be a good Catholic and continue in "the unbecoming business of conducting a saloon." At the mass meeting an eloquent Irish-American politician and devout Catholic, Theodore C. O'Sullivan, spoke in opposition to the Sunday closing of saloons and indicated that he was not a teetotaler. He was loudly hissed by the crowd so that Archbishop Corrigan intervened to prevent further demonstrations of disapproval.[87]

By this time there was a reaction in some Catholic circles against the prohibition spirit, and Bishop John L. Spalding who had previously shown strong temperance and even prohibitionist views, wrote in 1894, "These people, if they had the power, would make us a sect of Methodists."[88]

Bishop Spalding was especially weary of the liberal-conservative tensions which for many years troubled the Catholic Church in America.[89] This involved the question of how rapidly the Catholic Church in the United States should become thoroughly "Americanized" in discontinuing the language and cultural traditions which Germans and others had brought from the Old World.[90] One aspect was a conflict between the German-Americans with beer-drinking traditions and Catholic total abstainers. The controversy even affected the early prosperity of the Catholic University of America, where the first Rector, Bishop Keane, was a liberal on most social questions and an earnest advocate of total abstinence. A German editor in Illi-

[86] *Toledo Blade,* Mar. 21, 1895, quoted in *Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* XXV, 232.

[87] Bland, *op. cit.,* 196-201.

[88] Hogan, *Catholic University of America, 1896-1903,* 15 note.

[89] Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans,* 230 note.

[90] Thomas J. McAvoy, *Catholic Historical Review,* XXXI (July 1945), 133-153. See also articles by John J. Meng on "Cahenslyism" in *ibid,* XXXI (Jan. 1946), 389-413, and XXXII (Oct. 1946), 302-340.

nois even refused to honor a subscription he had promised to the University, because he said that it had fallen into the hands of prelates who had become conspicuous by their aversion to all things German.[91]

Thus, the churches had taken a leading part in the movement for liquor reform over more than half a century. In the 1830's excessive drinking had not been deemed disreputable, and only with the activities of the "Washington Societies" and other temperance groups had it been considered as something of a vice. Public opinion had developed in the 1880's to the place that, in many communities even in rather sophisticated family groups, claret or sherry displayed in decanters or served at dinner parties aroused a feeling akin to "horror," but a little whiskey was always welcomed by male guests if discreetly served in the den or study.[92]

Doubtless temperance societies had achieved many salutary results. A writer in *The Forum* in 1887 asserted that each recent decade had marked "new victories in the temperance cause, and every such moral victory has been attended by splendid revivals of religion."[93]

A Catholic authority tells us that by "the almost universal testimony of the time," the liquor evil "was *the* moral and social problem" of Irish Catholics in the United States from 1840 to 1914.[94] To correct this situation, much effort had been expended, especially by the Catholic Total Abstinence Unions. Temperance halls, sometimes with a library, gymnasium, and other facilities were often erected in local parishes, not without salutary results.[95] In St. Paul, Minnesota, efforts of church leaders had been so successful that as early as 1882, a St. Paul paper commented that within a few years the Catholic Irish of the city had changed from "the most intemperate, disorderly, and unthrifty" into, generally speaking, members of "the most

[91] Ahern, *The Catholic University of America, 1887-1896,* 139-141.
[92] Maurice F. Egan, *Recollections of a Happy Life* (N. Y., 1924), 163.
[93] John Snyder, "Do We Need Prohibition?", *The Forum,* III (Apr. 1887), 160.
[94] Bland, *op. cit.,* 275.
[95] *Ibid.,* 137, 149, 183.

temperate, orderly, industrious, thrifty and moral classes of the community."[96]

By the end of the century, an astute observer of American society asserted that in small United States villages (where the Protestant churches of evangelical tendencies were especially powerful) most reputable people drank very little and never in public. There, what drinking was done, he said, was usually done by the "unskilled and intemperate" to the obvious detriment of themselves and the community. In the large cities there was much drinking but a fair proportion of it was done in a "restrained" manner. The worst drinking, he felt, was doubtless done in the prohibition states where quality was poor, prices were high, and a "sneaking" attitude accompanied the practice.[97]

What may have been the effective work of the churches in preserving individuals from the excesses of the liquor traffic can never be accurately known, but certainly the Protestant and Catholic churches had been of great influence. Especially influential had been the Mormon Church which had a rather tightly knit constituency and frowned decidedly, not only upon the use of liquor but that of other stimulants and tobacco.[98]

In the closing decades of the century the aggressively active Methodist Church had become, in a real way, "the Napoleonic guard of temperance."[99] Even some popular Methodist bishops to some extent resisted the regimentation of conduct that was associated with the movement. The highly influential Bishop Matthew Simpson, as a Methodist editor had campaigned vigorously against the licensing of taverns and "tippling-places," and he had endorsed the W.C.T.U. Yet, on a visit to Mexico (1874) he attended a banquet for United States citizens. Wine was served, and unembarrassed, he responded to a toast in a sprightly speech. Later, it was reported that Mrs. Simpson and he were guests of President Arthur at the White House when

[96] St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* Aug. 4, 1882, in *ibid.,* 105.
[97] E. S. Martin in *Harper's Weekly,* July 7, 1900, p. 631.
[98] Brooke P. Church, *A Faith For You* (N. Y., 1948), 176.
[99] John Snyder, "Do We Need Prohibition?", *The Forum,* III (April 1887), 152-161.

wine was served, and he was severely criticized by a non-Methodist paper.[100]

In their enthusiasm for moral regulation some of the churches even took up the cudgels against tobacco. The Presbyterian General Assembly of 1870 had declared that the use of tobacco tended to be demoralizing and should be discountenanced by Christians. In 1879 and on later occasions the Assembly resolved not to give aid to any student studying for the ministry if addicted to the use of tobacco in any form.[101]

The General Conference of the Northern Methodist Church in 1876 had recommended to the local conferences that they require all candidates for ordination "to be free from the habit, as hurtful to their acceptability and usefulness among our people."[102] The trend away from earlier liberality on this question was shown in the case of a Senior Methodist Bishop, Levi Scott, who died in 1882. He loved his tobacco, and once while presiding over a Methodist Conference, the usual anti-tobacco resolution was introduced. The bishop put a large quid from his mouth into a spittoon, and then said in piping tones, "Brethren, what action will *you* take on this resolution?"[103]

In 1900, the Committee on Temperance at the General Conference of the Methodist Church urged Methodists to abstain from the use of tobacco and from "trafficking in this poison to the souls and bodies of men." A national weekly commented that Phillips Brooks had used tobacco freely without damage to body or soul and declared that a temperance committee made up wholly of abstainers was as ludicrous as a mothers' meeting made up wholly of spinsters.[104]

Another matter with which church leaders concerned themselves was gambling.[105] In Ohio, where the evangelical churches had large popular support, a provision (still in effect) of the

[100] Robert D. Clark, *The Life of Matthew Simpson* (N. Y., 1956), 298-9.
[101] *Harper's Weekly,* May 7, 1898.
[102] Bishop Harris, ed., *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Cincinnati, 1880), 384.
[103] *Harper's Weekly,* Aug. 5, 1882.
[104] *Harper's Weekly,* June 2, 1900.
[105] For opposition of the churches to lotteries before the Civil War, see summary in Anson P. Stokes, *Church and State in the United States,* II, 25-28.

Constitution of 1851 had provided: "Lotteries, and the sale of lottery tickets, for any purpose whatever, shall forever be prohibited in this state."[106] Some Protestant churchmen objected in many areas to the games of chance at Catholic fairs, and Protestant churches sometimes disciplined their members for gambling, including the placing of election bets.[107]

Horse racing and other occasions for placing wagers of various kinds were often sternly denounced by church bodies.[108] Accordingly, General "Abe" Buford attracted considerable attention when he joined the Church without giving up his zestful enthusiasm for horse racing. Indeed, he even proceeded to give a lecture on the duties of the "Christian turfman," insisting that betting and not horse racing was the evil involved.[109]

Especially notorious for many years was the Louisiana Lottery which in all took in about $300,000,000 from all parts of the country. Originally chartered by the state legislature in August 1868 for a period of twenty-five years, it became immensely profitable. When the charter was about to expire, a struggle developed over its recharter, for the company offered the state large sums of money annually in return for an extension of the grant.

Reformers and church leaders had long been in opposition, and in 1886 a vestryman of a New Orleans Episcopal Church, during a special Advent Mission there, had demonstrated his renewed consecration to spiritual things by resigning a lucrative position with the Lottery.[110] In subsequent years, Annual Conferences and Methodist periodicals had pledged the unstinted support of Southern Methodism toward eliminating the Lottery. In 1890 the General Conference of the Methodist Church, South, termed the institution a "national disgrace."[111]

The highly influential Benjamin M. Palmer, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of New Orleans, employed his power-

[106] Article XV, Section 6.
[107] *Harper's Weekly,* Jan. 12, 1889.
[108] See *e.g., Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1890* (Philadelphia, 1890), 37.
[109] *Harper's Weekly,* Aug. 5, 1882.
[110] *The Independent,* XXXVIII (Feb. 25, 1886), 238.
[111] Farish, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts,* 358-60.

ful abilities against the Lottery.[112] The most influential Catholic prelate in the country, Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, denounced it as an enemy of honesty and the peace of the community, of the happiness and comfort of the home, and of individual thrift and enterprise. He further declared it "the duty of every upright citizen and earnest Christian to aid in its dethronement or suppression." He was joined in this crusade by Senator Edward D. White of Louisiana, a Catholic of Irish descent who later became Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.[113]

Such a combination of religious forces contributed greatly to the eventual defeat of the Lottery. Then, the crowning blow was undoubtedly administered through the efforts of Samuel Homer Woodbridge, professor of physics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a man closely identified "with all the religious and moral activities of the college."[114] He interested Rev. Lyman Abbott, and soon Bishop Phillips Brooks and Rev. Edward Everett Hale joined the crusade. With mounting aid from religious and moral leaders, Woodbridge worked untiringly and successfully to secure a Congressional ban on every avenue of advertising and correspondence on the part of the Lottery (March 4, 1895).[115] Under such conditions it could no longer operate profitably in the United States, and it transferred its domicile to Honduras.[116]

[112] *D.A.B.*, XIV, 175-6.
[113] Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 528-9.
[114] *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 3, 1895.
[115] See discussion in S. H. Woodbridge, *The Overthrow of the Louisiana Lottery* (Washington, 1921).
[116] *D.A.H.*, III, 307. See also, Berthold C. Alwes, "The History of the Louisiana State Lottery Company," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (1944), 964-1118, and "The Louisiana Lottery" in John S. Ezell, *Fortune's Merry Wheel: The Lottery in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 242-270.

PART 4

†

The Faith of the Church as a Bond of Fellowship

CHAPTER IX

Means of Expressing Fellowship

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CHURCHES in the United States were also primary mediums of fellowship. This was especially true of homogeneous communities, as in some New England towns, where the Congregational Church was the center of social life, as well as of worship. Similarly, in certain New York villages, the Dutch Reformed Church, and in some Scotch-Irish communities (as in New Jersey and Pennsylvania) the Presbyterian Church was often the focal point of the common life of the village or town.

In the Pennsylvania Dutch country a Lutheran, Reformed, Mennonite, Amish, or Moravian Church was often so important that affiliation with it really made a person a member of the community.[1] Such ties were symbolized, for example, at Bethlehem by the custom which provided that whenever a member of the Moravian congregation died, four trombone players would mount the belfry of the Moravian Church (with its weather vane dating from 1803), and set the harmonies of German chorales rolling round the hillsides near the town.[2]

In many parts of the country in small villages and rural neighborhoods with poor roads presenting difficulties of transportation a few devout Catholic or intense Presbyterian families might drive a considerable distance to the church of their preference, but the neighborhood church was often practically a community center. James M. Cox, later a candidate for the Presidency, recalled a United Brethren Church at Jacksonburg in southwestern Ohio that served in such a capacity. On Sundays all members of his family went to Sunday School and

[1] Ralph Wood, ed., *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton, 1942), 87.
[2] M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *A Venture In Remembrance* (Boston, 1941), 62.

church. In the winter season, social contacts were developed as a revival was held, a month in duration. In the spring the baptism of converts in Elk Creek was a social as well as a religious occasion. In the summer an ice cream social, and in the winter an oyster supper and the Christmas celebration were high lights of the congregation's social calendar. The holiday festivities at the church usually took place on Christmas eve. Three weeks of rehearsal were necessary for developing the musical program. A tremendous tree was brought in from the woods, and there being no exchange of gifts in most family circles, all presents to be given in the community were hung on the tree. Each present was taken from the tree, as a local wit called off the names with jocular comment, and youngsters from the Sunday School distributed the gifts among the people.[3]

In rural South Carolina "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, later noted agrarian leader, though never a pious or even a distinctly religious person, in his early married life often attended church as a "major social diversion." For a time in the neighboring Presbyterian Church, Ben's wife played the organ, while Ben led the singing.[4]

In country districts where a fairly homogeneous society was found, a German Lutheran, Reformed, or Catholic Church, or in the Northwest a Scandinavian Lutheran Church often brought social as well as religious cohesion to the community. Similarly, a girl visiting in a Scotch-Irish community in the hills of Southern Tennessee in the 1870's found the United Presbyterian Church the active center of community life.[5]

In many cities ties of faith and of language drew people of similar background into churches whose influence permeated every phase of their lives. In New England, French, Irish, and Polish Catholics erected churches which often dominated their urban neighborhoods, and elsewhere similar trends were a part of the religious, social, and cultural pattern.

In New England, it is true, the religious unity of many a

[3] James M. Cox, *Journey Through My Years* (N. Y., 1946), 7-10.
[4] Francis B. Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman* (Baton Rouge, 1944), 55.
[5] Anna French Johnson, *The Making of a Minister's Wife* (N. Y., 1939), 48.

community had been fragmented by the rise of various sects and by the influx of churches serving the new immigrant population. In the area east of the Hudson, the Church of Christ, Congregational, often located on the village green, had traditionally been a place where on Sunday, "Every townsman was in his place. Neighbors saw neighbors and felt the inspiration of common interests expressed in common worship." After the service, frequently "the women in the great porch, the men on the benches in the burying ground," talked of neighborhood concerns and public policies, as they waited for the afternoon service.[6] In the meantime, "fellowship was warmed, mutual understanding was accomplished, friendships were cemented, troths were plighted, society was made a Christian society." One observer commented in 1894:

> With original possession of the ground, starting with the assumption that it was *the* Church of Christ, had the Congregational body been able to embrace in its large liberality the shades of religious life and of the progressing theology of these two centuries, its right to be the one spiritual body in the town would now be indisputable.[7]

In many communities, however, "certain phases of religious experience, found no satisfaction in the old church," seemingly thereby offering "convincing testimony of its failure of catholicity." Methodists, Baptists, and others entered the field, and by 1894, in one town, Middleboro, Massachusetts, fifteen poorly supported churches contributed to such reduplication of effort that in the once thriving local Congregational Church, an excellent young minister was preaching "to a few old people on fair Sundays."[8]

Such was an evidence of a religious decline in certain areas of New England and of the country as a whole, but this was far from the entire story. In many communities in New England and elsewhere, there were vital churches which served effectively the needs for worship and fellowship of all who sought their help in the neighborhood. When Washington Gladden was

[6] W. B. Hale, "A Religious Analysis of a New England Town," *The Forum*, XVII (March 1894), 71-72.

[7] *Ibid.*, 73-74.

[8] *Ibid.*

pastor of the Congregational Church in North Adams, Massachusetts, he developed, for example, an admirable system of organizing the parish into districts so that neighbors might develop a spirit of helpfulness for their neighbors, and this was continued by his successor, Rev. Theodore Munger.[9]

When a vital church was alert and ready for its opportunities, it would not only conduct helpful services of worship but, as the Roman Catholic archbishop, John Ireland, of St. Paul, expressed it in 1886, radiate faith and works for every need. Thus, helpless infancy, tempestuous and temptation-ridden youth, the broken fortunes of honest but unsuccessful industry, grief, decrepit old age, and death itself would be touched by the healing balm of the Christian community. Various Catholic parishes maintained schools for indigent children, recreational facilities for adults, and organized means of "visiting the sick, counselling the erring, helping the needy and performing other works of charity."[10]

In fulfilling the church's role as a center of wholesome social activity, at a time when ice cream was seldom made at home, strawberry festivals or ice cream "lawn sociables" on a summer evening were features of village and town, as well as rural, church life. Crowds would gather around tables under festoons of Japanese lanterns, as quantities of ice cream and cake were served amidst much laughter and gaiety. Then the young people would find entertainment in playing Drop-the-Handkerchief, Bean Bag, Spin-the-Plate, and Who's Got the Button, or in participating in charades or peanut hunts.[11] In other respects, church social functions often partook mildly of a carnival-like spirit, particularly in the South.[12]

Occasionally, however, tragedy stalked in the midst of gaiety, as at an indoor Strawberry Festival in the parlors of Central Baptist Church, Syracuse, New York, on the evening of June 23,

[9] Benjamin W. Bacon, *Munger,* 243.

[10] Moynihan, *Ireland,* 229-230; Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action,* 30-31.

[11] Anna French Johnson, *The Making of a Minister's Wife* (N. Y., 1939), 58-59.

[12] Hunter D. Farish, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts* (Richmond, Va., 1938), 356-357.

1874. The first and second floors were thronged with adults and children, when a little after nine o'clock, a perceptible tremor of the floor of the upper room aroused alarm, and some people departed. A few minutes later, the upper floor on which there were about three hundred people, gave way. Thirteen persons were killed, and many others were more or less seriously injured.[13]

Almost every Protestant church of any vitality had its annual Sunday School picnic, often with a noteworthy increase in juvenile attendance for two or three weeks before the event. Perhaps not untypical were those of the Presbyterian Church in Chatsworth, Illinois. There they were held in Oliver's Grove, about five miles from the town, the children being taken in farm wagons, the older members riding in spring wagons, while a few might go in style in a carriage. No entertainment was planned, but the playing of games, the climbing of trees, strolling about the woods, and wading in the little stream occupied the time of the youngsters until dinner was ready to be served. To prepare for that, table cloths were spread on the ground (no tables being used), and food in abundance awaited all who had come for the joyful occasion. Likewise, at a mining town in Nevada the great annual event for children of the Protestant churches was the picnic railroad excursion.[14]

In Brooklyn, New York, a leading event of the year was the annual Sunday School May Walk, which brought together the children and young people of most Protestant denominations. Each class marched under its own banner, every member being dressed in holiday attire. The procession moved slowly through lines of spectators, as the fire bells of the community rang to enliven the occasion. At the end of the march, an inspirational union service was held, followed by the serving of strawberries and ice cream in cool groves.[15]

The annual mid-summer excursion of Union Baptist Sunday School (one of the largest in the state) in Brooklyn utilized two

[13] *Harper's Weekly,* July 11, 1874.

[14] Catherine Bigham Brode, *Life in Chatsworth, 1865-1885* (Santa Monica, Cal., 1946), 20; Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise,* June 22, 1871.

[15] Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes,* (2 vols., N. Y., 1951), I, 22.

barges, lashed together, a trip being made up the Hudson River to Iona Island or down to Long Branch or over to some Long Island Sound resort. The occasion was enlivened by swimming, much feasting, and even dancing (which prompted the raising of some eyebrows).[16]

In the summer of 1886, to use another example, the Brooklyn Tabernacle congregation (Presbyterian) of Rev. DeWitt Talmadge went as far as Alexandria Bay on an excursion, and the following year the leaders chartered the steamboat *Pilgrim* for a congregational excursion to Martha's Vineyard, where lavish displays of fireworks were to be provided.[17]

In some congregations the Young People's Society would often meet on a week-day night. This occasion might prove opportunity for an "Excelsior Chorus" to practice so as to give enlivenment to the Sunday evening service. Often an interlude would permit the popping of corn at the parsonage fireplace, but at any rate, a frolic of some kind added zest to the gathering.[18]

Various church societies organized hiking, street car, and bicycle clubs and sponsored moonlight rides where lake or river facilities were available.[19] To interest young men of the congregation in the disciplined life, numerous churches organized parish military units, as in the congregations of Trinity Episcopal and the Epworth Methodist Episcopal and St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal churches of Toledo, Ohio.[20]

Many church women gathered together frequently for a combined objective of sociability and religious or social service, as they would prepare boxes for Indian, Negro, or foreign missions, or perhaps for the needy in another state.[21]

In rather struggling Protestant congregations, especially of

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Harper's Weekly,* March 12, 1887.

[18] Anna F. Johnson, *op. cit.,* 149 ff.

[19] Rev. G. A. Riegler, "The Story of Religion in Toledo, 1875-1900," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* XXVI (1954), 96-97.

[20] *Ibid.,* XXV (1953), 237.

[21] Typical of hundreds of other churches, The First Baptist and First Congregational churches of Toledo, Ohio in 1881 sent boxes of clothing to the needy in Michigan. *Ibid.,* 229-30.

the Methodist persuasion, there was the general belief that the parson and his family were also not outside the circle of need. This led to a social function known as the Donation Party. Near the end of the year, members of the congregation of all ages would invade the parsonage, bringing cakes, doughnuts, milk, crackers, butter, apples, and other edibles. They then proceeded to eat much of these. The whole affair was often a distinct trial to the minister's wife, for children would romp in the upstairs rooms, sometimes ruining linens and causing other property damage.[22]

Church receptions such as those in honor of a new or departing minister were often high points in the social life of a community. On occasion even a national magazine might devote attention to an especially elaborate church reception like that given at Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, in honor of twenty-five years of service to the church by the pastor, Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler. Mayor Seth Low of New York was among the speakers, and among those sending personal greetings was John Greenleaf Whittier.[23]

As communities prospered, churches offered not only as many religious services as the congregations would attend, but all kinds of secular programs. Even a non-church member like Mark Twain found enjoyment for years in the 1870's in attending the neighborhood Congregational Church in Hartford and in meeting his friends there at weekday church affairs. In May 1875, at a spelling bee at the church, Mark Twain and his wife contributed the first prize, and Mark started the occasion with the opening speech. A year later he gave a reading at the church between selections by a quintette of parishioners, who sang "Farewell, Annie Darling" and "Fly Away, Birdling."[24]

To some, secular activities seemed so frequent as to be turning "Protestant bodies, for the most part," into religious clubs.[25]

[22] Thomas W. Lamont, "My Boyhood in a Parsonage," *Atlantic Monthly,* CLXXVII (May 1946), 186.

[23] *Harper's Weekly,* April 18, 1885.

[24] Kenneth Andrews, *Nook Farm,* 50.

[25] William B. Hale, "A Religious Analysis of a New England Town," *The Forum,* XVII (March 1894), 75.

At any rate, one church had a dramatic society which presented comedies like "The Fisherman's Luck" at the Town Hall.[26] An Episcopal Church in Worcester, Massachusetts gave a jolly performance of "The Mikado," in which "Nanki Poo" in his cream tights made life indescribably sunny for "Yum Yum." Other Massachusetts Episcopal churches offered "Violet in Fairyland," "A Comedy of Errors up to Date," "The Man Who Tickled His Wives to Death," and "Mrs. Jarley's Waxworks" with Trilby characters. The First Reformed Church, Brooklyn, New York, presented a Living Picture Show in which women in gilt frames, posed as St. Cecelia, Bacchante, The Madonna of Consolation, and La Zingarella.[27] Somewhat similar was the "Living Picture Show," given at the Baptist Church in Avon, Massachusetts, where a soprano sang, "Heart of My Heart" and "Celeste," an elocutionist rendered humorous selections, and then the tableaux, "Over the Garden Wall" and "Rock of Ages" were presented while the songs with those titles were sung.[28]

A combination of the dramatic and the carnival spirit was achieved by St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, which presented a Shakesperian Carnival with the rector as Hamlet and some members of the choir rendering the lullaby from the ghost scene in "Midsummer Night's Dream." Dancing then followed, the Grand March being led by one hundred twenty-five costumed parishioners with one garbed as Julius Caesar at the head of the procession.[29]

During 1894, the Female Negro Minstrel Show was especially popular in Massachusetts, in one town the Unitarians enlivening their show with a song-and-dance turn, an impersonation of the Bowery Girl, and a skirt dance. Coxey socials, to which persons would come as if members of the motley Coxey's Army, did not prove popular.[30] But, a variant of this was the Poverty Sociable to which young people were invited to come in plain

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Hale, "Another Year of Church Entertainments," *The Forum,* XXII (December 1896), 396-99.

[28] William B. Hale, "A Study of Church Entertainments," *The Forum,* XX (January 1896), 574-5.

[29] Hale, "Another Year of Church Entertainments," *loc. cit.,* 397.

[30] Hale, "A Study of Church Entertainments," *loc. cit.,* 575-76.

dress, with fines imposed, ranging from two cents to ten dollars, for expensive items of attire.[31] Other types of social events were those featuring a Hayseed party, a Mock Town Meeting, Tom Thumb marriages, a Fancy Dress Drill, a Mother Goose Market, and a Husking Bee. The extent to which imagination was employed to devise other types of entertainment was illustrated by a New Woman Social at the Methodist Church of Hancock, New York, where the men modelled feminine attire, one appearing in lilac bloomers with lace trimmings and another in a Mother Hubbard garb with a weeping willow plume.[32] And, at a church in Bangor, Maine, the leading attraction at a social function was a "Menagerie of Living Animals."[33]

Enjoyment was supposedly even obtained in advance from the humorous announcement of an informal musical entertainment, sponsored by the Presbyterian Sunday School of Springfield, New Jersey in 1883. The attraction was "The Peake sisters (spinsters), formerly of Pike's Peake, late of Peaketown, State of Alasky, assisted by the renowned Peake Orchestra." Afterwards ice cream was to be served for fifteen cents.[34]

The trend toward variety in church entertainments was accelerated, as Catholic parishes strained every nerve to build costly churches and schools, and numerous Protestant congregations in a community sought not only means of financing their missionary and charitable ventures but even their ordinary parish expenses. In South Bend, Indiana, Methodist pie socials had an enviable reputation; the Baptists were noted for their good pies; while Episcopalians commonly offered tableaux or a play for charity. The Catholics held bazaars or fairs which were sometimes shunned by some of the genteel, for there were often "voting contests" which threatened to end in fighting, as Poles, Germans, and Irish, often of volatile emotions, were present to support their favorites.[35]

In New York, St. Patrick's Cathedral, as well as other

[31] *Ibid.*, 574-5.
[32] Hale, "Another Year of Church Entertainments," *loc. cit.*, 398 ff.
[33] Hale, "A Study of Church Entertainments," 576.
[34] *Harper's Weekly*, October 27, 1883.
[35] Maurice F. Egan, *Memories of a Happy Life*, 160-1.

churches, according to a devout Catholic, was "built for the most part with money earned dollar by dollar."[36] This meant not only a good deal of urging and soliciting for special collections, but also "card parties, fairs, dances, and church picnics." During the fall of 1875 a great fair was held at the Cathedral during a series of evenings. At least 20,000 persons were present on the opening night and were addressed by Cardinal McCloskey and others. Ladies presided over handsomely decorated tables and other attractions, including a "Fish Pond" and a Tobacco Booth. There was much raffling and selling of chances, as a quarter bought a chance on a ton of coal or a barrel of flour. Even children found much hilarity in placing a penny on one of twelve numbers on a table, a revolving arrow being rotated so as to stop at one number, the winner then being given six cents. There were six such tables. The New York *Observer* criticized the setup as a violation of the state gambling laws, but the receipts of the fair (largely profit) were $160,000.[37]

During the next two decades church fairs tended to be less frequent and to improve in character. The post-Civil War vogue of the selling of kisses by attractive girls practically disappeared. In Catholic circles, the selling of chances on contributed articles, even including barrels of beer, continued, but Protestant churches concentrated increasingly on church suppers. Yet, still common were such efforts as that of a Methodist Church in Massachusetts that sought to raise money for an organ by a sketch-artist performing the act, "Casey at the Bat."[38]

One Methodist Church in Massachusetts regularly paid the minister's salary largely from the proceeds of an annual clam bake on Labor Day.[39] On one Sunday in March 1895, in a Congregational Church in Massachusetts, at the regular hours for worship, pictures were sold, as the communion table was turned into an auctioneer's stand, and nearly a hundred pur-

[36] Mrs. Winthrop Chanler, *Roman Spring*, 262.
[37] *Harper's Weekly*, November 16, 1878.
[38] Hale, "A Study of Church Entertainments, *loc. cit.*, 572-74.
[39] Hale, "A Religious Analysis of a New England Town," *loc. cit.*, 75.

chasers bought pictures at prices from one to two dollars.[40] At a church in Providence, Rhode Island, the edifice on one occasion was turned into a market place where articles as varied as macaroni and suspenders were sold.[41] Other means of combining entertainment with money-making objectives in Catholic parishes included whist parties, with as many as a thousand persons in attendance, a Grand Barbecue with athletic events, political speeches, and fireworks and dancing.[42]

The line of demarcation between religious and social occasions often could not be sharply drawn. As has been pointed out, in rural New England, after the morning church service, families often enjoyed a social time with their neighbors, as basket dinners had been brought along to be consumed in the interval before the afternoon service. In Methodist circles, a mid-day family dinner often continued to be a high point in a Sunday camp meeting. Sometimes, in the North, as at Epworth Heights near Cincinnati, five thousand persons would be present on Sunday with a thousand in residence for the meetings lasting a week or ten days (with overnight shelter provided in wooden cottages).[43] Such occasions served as means of fellowship as well as of religious expression, as did Baptist revivals which culminated in the dramatic ceremony of immersion.[44]

In the South camp meetings continued to flourish vigorously, even if some believed that they survived largely for the display of bonnets and an indulgence in "animated chats" and in "good roast beef" and other provisions for bountiful meals.[45]

In the North, the "shouting" of old time camp meetings declined, but fellowship, recreation and worship were combined by Methodists and Presbyterians at separate summer establishments in the Thousand Islands.[46] At Saratoga Springs members of evangelical denominations found relaxation at the various inns (each denomination having its favorite hostelry), as music,

[40] Hale, "A Study of Church Entertainments," *loc. cit.*, 576-7.
[41] Hale, "Another Year of Church Entertainments," *loc. cit.*, 397.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Cincinnati Enquirer,* July 27, 1890.
[44] Simkins and Woody, *Reconstruction in South Carolina,* 399-401.
[45] *Ibid.*, 407.
[46] *Harper's Weekly,* August 24, 1878.

lectures, and tableaux, as well as prayer meetings were a part of the summer offerings in the parlors of the hotels.[47] Somewhat more formally at Chautauqua Lake (New York), Bay View (Michigan), Asbury Park (New Jersey) and similar places, programs of religious and secular programs were offered.[48]

As the United States moved from a predominantly rural to a more definitely urban culture, conservative views prevailed in some churches in opposition to the increasing social and secular interests of the churches. In New York a rather liberal leader in a Dutch Reformed Church said, "The consistory has only old people on it, and they are opposed to anything like a social side to the church."[49] In the rural South, basket dinners might be necessary for Sunday camp meetings, but in the towns, the dominant evangelical groups—Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians—held to narrowly Scriptural views of the church for many years. Thus, the building of church dining rooms, social halls, and parish house gymnasiums, was long viewed as definitely undesirable.[50]

Such tendencies were far from unknown in religious circles of the North. The youthful Rev. Mr. Donald of the Episcopal Church of the Ascension in New York City, actively opposed provision for bowling alleys, billiard tables, gymnasiums, and kitchens as church adjuncts, declaring that they tended to transform churches into "houses of amusement or clubs of physical comfort."[51] Episcopalians, even in the conservative South, however, were less moralistic than some other denominations and there often had "church entertainments with dancing."[52]

As previously indicated, in rural areas where settlers of a particular racial stock predominated to give a definite cultural pattern to the locality, language and religion often served as twin unifiers. Many German communities—of Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, or mixed constituencies—were found in

[47] *The Independent,* July 15, 1880.
[48] Allan Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America* (N. Y., 1927), 217.
[49] *New York Times,* March 30, 1890.
[50] Simkins and Woody, *op. cit.,* 406.
[51] *Harper's Weekly,* July 13, 1889.
[52] Glenn A. Sisk, "Churches in the Alabama Black Belt," *Church History,* XXIII (June 1954), 170.

much of the Mississippi Valley.[53] "The New Scandinavia" of the upper Mississippi Valley included many communities of intense Lutheran viewpoints where the Pastor set the pattern of acceptable social practices.[54] In other communities, Czechs, Poles, or Italians predominated, and in certain areas, especially in New England, French-Canadians found in their church the protector of their cultural inheritance as well as of their faith. Manchester, New Hampshire, allegedly became more bilingual than Ottawa. In at least parts of French Louisiana, Ascension Day was a holiday, and all turned out in festive attire.[55]

In many cities, Germans, Irish, Italians, Poles, Scandinavians, and others established parishes where their church was not only the center of religious life, but the place where christenings, weddings, funerals, and feast days served to unify the people of the community in bonds of strongest texture.[56]

Among the Negroes of the South, since other social organizations for a long time were almost non-existent, men and women, whether professing church members or not, commonly went to church. Without the means for club houses, theatres, and other diversions, they sought the church as a place to meet friends, see their sweethearts, and learn of the changes in the world, near and far.[57]

For some years after 1865, Negro services often proved to be more definitely occasions for emotional orgy than for the development of a rationally-based faith and exemplary morality. Garbed in florid and ornate garb, Negroes often went from their day services to a night "dance break-down," and from this evening "shout," they might adjourn to a watermelon patch "not their own."[58]

[53] See *e.g.*, "The German Triangle of the West" in Colman J. Barry, *The Catholic Church and German-Americans*, 44-85.

[54] See *e.g.*, John O. Anders, *The Origin and History of Swedish Religious Organizations in Minnesota* (Rock Island, Ill., 1932).

[55] A. R. Lower, "New France in New England," *The New England Quarterly*, II (April 1929), 287; *Harper's Weekly*, January 19, 1867.

[56] See, *e.g.*, Giovanni Schiavo, *The Italian Contribution to the Catholic Church in America* (N. Y., 1949), 475.

[57] Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*, 267-8.

[58] E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 337.

Much of the dramatization which came into their humble lives came through church services and, especially, baptismal and funeral occasions. Candidates for baptism were commonly clad in ill-fitting garments of white cotton and, after immersion, at length came out of the water amidst shrill screams. Funerals frequently were almost festivals of rejoicing that the "Big Massa" had called the departed to the Blessed Land.[59]

In such communities, as in homogeneous congregations of the foreign-born, the problem of the integration of individuals of different economic and cultural attainments was not a difficult one, as it was in many congregations, particularly in urban areas, of sophisticated culture and prosperous status.

Part of the difficulty faced by Protestant churches was that, much more than Catholic parishes, their services were based: (1) On bonds of Christian fellowship, rather than on a ritual of mysticism and symbolism; (2) On an intimate relationship to the cultural pattern of contemporary life.

Denominational affiliations often brought together people of similar culture and economic position, and with the rise of the cities, class difference became further accentuated.

In Catholic city parishes, families of high and humble social and economic station often worshipped in the same service. "The wearer of gay clothing and he of the tattered sleeve were superficially at least" on an equal footing.[60] Yet, as in much of Catholic Europe, there was often no widespread indication of any mutuality of personal interest or of individual concern as a bond between those of greatly different stations in life. Socially prominent Catholics felt no obligation to speak to a washerwoman who attended the same church, but attendants at Protestant churches often felt deprived of Christian fellowship if they were not greeted warmly by other parishioners.

Attendance, at Mass, moreover, was deemed the fulfillment of an obligation by the practicing Catholic, and for them the mystical rite alone justified regular attendance. Many Protestants,

[59] Simkins and Woody, *op. cit.*, 411.

[60] Oscar F. Adams, "Aristocratic Drift of American Protestantism," *North American Review,* CXLII (1886), 197.

however, deemed the service sterile indeed if some new vision, however faint, was not given them for the enrichment of their personal lives. For this purpose, the sermon was commonly deemed to be central. Obviously, a sermon expressing careful thought and clothed in rhetoric appealing to the educated and disciplined mind was sometimes beyond the comprehension of many a sincere, humble worshipper. Therefore, a service of the greatest inspiration for some as being practically related to their individual needs was often far from helpful to others. The very emotionalism of many Methodist services was most distasteful to many of more restrained temperament. The great preachers of the time were, of course, those who endeavored to deal with the fundamental issues of life in simple, vivid English with an imagery which vitalized the message for all.

If the cultural differences were ofttimes overcome so as to provide a harmonious congregation of men and women of varying educational advantages, the concept of the Church as an inclusive, vital fellowship often brought other dangers of restrictiveness. Families which had long belonged to churches made up of cultivated, trustworthy members often hesitated to enlarge the circle to include newcomers of untested and perhaps troublesome characteristics. Rev. Richard S. Storrs, for forty years the beloved pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims (Congregational), Brooklyn, found that his congregation possessed the most estimable qualities, but he regretted that sometimes families "long associated in it become by degrees so affectionately allied and so content in their happy relations, that they fail to reach out as promptly as they should to welcome others to a fellowship as complete."[61]

When a church did accept newcomers wholeheartedly, as did the Presbyterian Church of Malden, New York, a brother of John Bigelow, the eminent political leader, could complain in 1880 that the old family church had "gone into the hands of the rabble." Not always was the reaction like that expressed in John Bigelow's reply. He declared that Christianity had started among "the rabble" and that contemporary Protestantism was

[61] *The Independent,* XXXVIII (November 18, 1886), 1482.

failing generally to influence "the rabble" to which he feared most men belonged in spiritual matters much of the time.[62]

A distinguished church historian, William W. Sweet, discounts the conventional view that Congregationalists made a limited impression on Western areas of the United States because of their high intellectual attainments and distaste for frontier love of showmanship and "foofarow."[63] He concludes that more fundamental was the New Englander's smug provincialism and obvious attitude of superiority.[64]

Yet, when congregations were bound together by closely knit ties and splendid, deep-seated aspirations, they were vital forces beyond their numerical importance. When the previously mentioned Rev. Richard S. Storrs had served his Brooklyn congregation not merely forty, but fifty years, a national magazine commented:

> Wealth in the pew has been unostentatious, and worth in the pulpit the foe of sensationalism and sham. The Puritan ideals that tempered the liberal spirit of the preacher imparted also their sobriety, strength, and dignity to the cultivation of the flock.[65]

A later leader of radical political views, Max Eastman, testified to the magnificent spirit of fellowship which he had experienced as the son of a Congregational ministerial family at Canandaigua, Geneva, Ithaca, Auburn, and other New York state towns. He related that it would be possible for him to write a volume about the "grand people and families," noble in the finest sense of the word, who as parishioners and friends of his parents acted as a "godfatherly spur and model" to his development, imparting to it a spacious quality.[66]

Similar testimony to the power and nobility of the fellowship of the churches came from thousands of high and low estate.

[62] Margaret Clapp, *Forgotten First Citizen: John Bigelow* (Boston, 1947), 334.

[63] For the conventional view, see Philip Jordan, *William Salter* (Oxford, Ohio, 1939), 214.

[64] *New England Quarterly,* XIII (June 1940), 359-61.

[65] *Harper's Weekly,* November 28, 1896.

[66] Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living,* 114. See also Eastman's praise of Rev. Thomas K. Beecher and his Elmira parish in *Heroes I Have Known: Twelve Who Lived Great Lives* (New York, 1942).

Many congregations struggled valiantly against a tendency toward exclusiveness which sometimes gave an impression to members stricken by a personal economic crisis or moral tragedy that they were no longer welcome. Thus, during the pastorate of Lyman Abbott at Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, when an active member was accused of, and pleaded guilty of forgery, the congregation resolved that "no man more needs the watch and care of a Christian Church than one who has fallen into sin" and sincerely repented. The individual involved had indeed turned his property over for the benefit of his victims and had written a frank letter of confession and repentance to the church. He had been sent to Sing Sing, but the congregation was asked to pray for the erring brother, and one of the pastors made a call each year upon him in prison.[67]

In a congregation of eminent social standing like the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, the pastor, Rev. John Hall, was known as a tireless shepherd of his flock who climbed countless flights of steps to minister to the servants as well as the masters of the homes of his congregation.[68] In the same city, Father Edward McGlynn, pastor of St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church on East Twenty-ninth Street, served his large congregation for only $800 a year and gave generously from his considerable private means that the parish might be an effective agency of both religious and social service to the ten thousand people who visited its diversified facilities daily.[69]

Such were some of the efforts of Christian people to demonstrate the spirit of brotherhood which they professed.

[67] Lyman Abbott, *Reminiscenses,* 373-4.

[68] Thomas C. Hall, *John Hall* (New York, 1901), *passim.*

[69] Father McGlynn, in connection with his espousal of the economic views of Henry George, encountered serious difficulties with his bishop. Stephen Bell, *Edward McGlynn, Rebel, Priest and Prophet* (New York, 1937); Weisenburger, *Ordeal of Faith,* 26-30, 162, 191.

CHAPTER X

Efforts to Extend the Circle of Fellowship

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THE alleged exclusiveness of many churches inevitably disturbed sensitive souls in numerous congregations. As early as 1851, Stephen Colwell, a Philadelphia Presbyterian who was an iron merchant and a welfare economist, had published *New Themes for the Protestant Clergy.* In it he had emphasized the way in which a preoccupation with creeds, especially the doctrine of the elect, had minimized the exercise of compassion and had led good people into a complacent acceptance of the lot of the poor as due to idleness, disease, and inherent worthlessness. To him it was an anomaly that large sums were being raised for the conversion of those in distant areas while the religious welfare of the poor at home was being neglected.[1]

Beginning in 1846, moreover, an able and forward-looking Episcopal clergyman, William Augustus Muhlenberg, had founded the Church of the Holy Communion (at 20th Street in New York City), the first important church of that denomination in the United States that maintained free pews. It became the center of a vital and unique parish life, associated with which an Episcopalian sisterhood, the first such order in the English-speaking Protestant world, was founded. Muhlenberg came from a distinguished Lutheran family, being the great-grandson of the founder of the Lutheran Church in America. Deprecating the excesses of denominationalism, he bent every effort to extend the spirit of unity—an Evangelical Catholicism

[1] Charles H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism* (New Haven, 1940), 6.

among Protestants—as a means of increasing their usefulness to all classes.[2]

Many well-to-do churchmen, however, seemed to prefer small, costly church structures (with little or no place for non-members), professional soloists, and unobjectionable sermons, which, according to James Parton, the noted biographer, carefully avoided "a single allusion to modern times, to modern modes of living and sinning."[3]

Some churches especially of Unitarian and Episcopal affiliations seemed like private clubs where outsiders would not dare to enter uninvited, and Harold L. Ickes gained a like impression when he attended Hyde Park Presbyterian Church, Chicago.[4]

Even in a church like the First Congregational in Columbus, Ohio, with an alert, socially-minded pastor, Washington Gladden, the problem was evident. Gladden found that his church came to be increasingly made up of those belonging to the professional, business, and salaried classes. Some working people even said that they refused to go to church because their church-going employers did not treat them fairly. At best, some of them felt rather shabbily dressed in the midst of a well-to-do congregation.[5]

An Episcopalian summarized the problem in 1886:

> Say what we may, the Protestant Church has no place for the poor man within its pale. The wealthy churches snub him till he leaves them for unfashionable churches or omits to go to church altogether, and the churches which lay no claim to being fashionable are yet not overgracious to the poor worshiper who ought to be content with the religious cold victuals proferred his kind at the mission chapel.[6]

In many instances, conscientious efforts were made to extend the circle of fellowship in the local church both in its religious and social functions, as well as in its social service and charitable ventures outside the parish. In the years after 1867 the

[2] *D. A. B.*, XIII, 313-14.
[3] *Atlantic Monthly*, XIX (January 1867), 40.
[4] Ickes, *The Autobiography of a Curmudgeon* (N. Y., 1943), 21-2.
[5] Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 85.
[6] Oscar Fay Adams, "Aristocratic Drift of American Protestantism," *North American Review*, CXLIII (1886), 197.

Franklin Street Congregational Church, Manchester, New Hampshire, doubled its Sunday School membership in eight years. As a church with a reputation for intellectual and social standing, it had also acquired a "reputation for exclusiveness," but in many respects this "entirely belied its spirit." The stately church building had a large gallery which was generally unoccupied. Several prominent families were persuaded to take pews there, thus permitting an expansion of the congregation without involving a feeling of inferiority on the part of those worshipping in the gallery.[7]

In Roman Catholic parishes, particularly effective not only in ministering to the material and spiritual needs of unfortunate members but in extending the activities of the Church in a widening circle was the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Branches had been established in many cities before the Civil War, and thereafter they increased rapidly in number. Laymen often rose nobly to the opportunity of manifesting by works of charity and a spiritual example a kind of lay ministry. Relief work, catechetical instruction for children in public institutions, religious consolation to those in prison, and the founding of orphanages and industrial schools were aspects of their activities.[8] Such work of course merely supplemented the ministrations of the clergy. Not infrequently, a Catholic priest like the beloved Father Duranquet, chaplain of the Tombs Prison, New York, seemed to find some virtue in even the most hardened criminals.[9]

In Protestant circles, far from exceptional were the activities of men like the Rev. George Worthington, pastor of St. John's Episcopal Church, Detroit, from 1868 to 1884, whose work was thus described by the Detroit *Free Press:*

> He has been a constant minister at the bedside of suffering, and off in the northeasterly portion of the city there are thousands of the poor and lowly to whom the name of Dr. Worthington is synonymous with that Christian charity that is known by unrecorded acts.[10]

[7] William J. Tucker, *My Generation: An Autobiographical Interpretation* (Boston, 1919), 65-70.

[8] O'Grady, *Catholic Charities,* 237 ff.

[9] Maurice F. Egan, *Recollections of a Happy Life,* 128.

[10] Quoted in *Harper's Weekly,* June 7, 1884.

Even a preeminent pulpit orator like Phillips Brooks was so gracious in extending his spiritual ministry to all who needed it that when a Boston workingman who had no definite claim to his attention sought his moral support on the eve of a critical surgical operation, such help was at once forthcoming. The eminent Boston rector visited the Hospital at the time of the operation and proved all that the frightened man had hoped for in the emergency.[11]

In another type of endeavor to extend the ministry of the church, the wife of the pastor of a leading Congregational Church of New Haven, Connecticut helped develop a Sunday afternoon service. Meeting in the chapel, and designed especially for mothers and others who found it difficult to attend in the morning, it was essentially devotional in nature. Special care was provided for the children, and the service grew so as to serve 270 persons.[12]

In an effort to attract those less than devout, the churches sometimes sacrificed the appeal to the spiritual, and dignity itself was frequently lost in the effort. Crowds sometimes went to a Baptist Church in Massachusetts on a Sunday evening when a converted Turk offered a lantern-slide lecture or to a neighboring Congregational Church for a concert by the town band.[13] Even the attendance in a body of a parish military organization in uniform sometimes added materially to the size of a Sunday evening congregation.

Popular expositions of Biblical or other themes often attracted huge crowds on Sunday evenings to city churches where eminent preachers were in the pulpit. Throughout the land, moreover, in many a town and village pastors endeavored to serve as large a number of people as possible by Sunday evening lectures on "Health," "Choosing a Partner," or "The White City."[14] Thomas K. Beecher (brother of Henry W. Beecher),

[11] A. V. G. Allen, *Phillips Brooks,* II, 674.

[12] Bacon, *Munger,* 311-12.

[13] W. B. Hale, "A Religious Analysis of a New England Town," *The Forum,* XVII (March 1894), 74.

[14] *Ibid.,* 75. The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago was a "White City."

long a noted Congregational pastor at Elmira, New York, conducted popular evening services which were so well attended that he hired the local theatre to provide for the crowds. Because of his unconventional methods he was expelled from the local ministerial union.[15]

Prior to 1865, no Protestant organization except the Y.M.C.A. was at all conspicuous in combining a spiritual and social ministry. The first local organization of the Association had been founded in Boston in 1851, and by 1865 the number exceeded two hundred. Working in close association with the churches, the Y.M.C.A. helped young men secure congenial living accommodations, encouraged them in their religious activities, ministered to the sick and lonely, and organized mission Sunday Schools. It had been primarily responsible for the spirited religious revival of 1857-58 and had been entirely the sponsor for the United States Christian Commission which had brought aid and refreshment to the "boys in blue" during the Civil War years.[16]

When this wartime Commission had been disbanded early in 1865, an American Christian Commission had soon been organized to survey and report on unwholesome recreational life in urban America that contributed to an increasing decline in church attendance. Only a few churches, notably St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, and First Presbyterian Church, Utica, New York, were found that placed a real emphasis on the temporal as well as the spiritual needs of their constituents.[17]

The Commission published a monthly newspaper, *The Christian at Work* (established in 1868) and arranged numerous conventions to discuss lay evangelism and a more extensive use of the churches.[18] During the same period Dwight L. Moody utilized lay preachers who urged church unity, as did the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance, organized definitely for promoting union within organized Christianity.[19]

[15] Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living*, 109.
[16] Aaron I. Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900* (Cambridge, 1943), 8-9.
[17] *Ibid.*, 13.
[18] *Ibid.*, 14-18.
[19] Stokes, *Church and State*, II, 271.

In every large city the Y.M.C.A. tended to develop an expanding program. Not untypical was the progress of the organization in Milwaukee, where beginnings had been made in March 1855. Here reorganization on a permanent basis was accomplished in 1876. Mid-day prayer meetings, relief work, open-air gospel meetings comprised aspects of its program, and boys' work was begun in 1881. A German branch functioned for some years until combined with the central association in 1893. In 1887 a new main building with gymnasium facilities had been occupied.[20]

The Association in Chicago had been established in 1858. After the Great Fire, a library, a newspaper, and a gymnasium were important aspects of its work. Branches in various parts of the city were soon established, and special efforts were made to promote the education of railroad employees and to serve German-American and Scandinavian-American youth.[21]

In New York City in 1876, an average of 652 men attended Professor W. H. Thomson's Y.M.C.A. Sunday afternoon Bible classes over a period of a year. The Bowery branch enabled thousands to find work and provided others with free meals and lodgings.[22]

Railroad Y.M.C.A.'s were inaugurated in 1875, and within two years, twenty-nine such organizations had been established.[23] Illustrative of one phase of the work were the nine hundred religious meetings held in the branch in Grand Central Depot, New York, in 1876. Over many years railroad leaders testified to the part played by the Railroad Y.M.C.A. in curbing vice and disorder.[24]

One of the tireless leaders of the Y.M.C.A. was Irish-born Robert R. McBurney, long Metropolitan Secretary for New York City (1887-98), who helped establish many branches and a varied program, employing gymnasiums, libraries, trade classes, as well as evangelism. He also aided in the founding of

[20] Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee: The History of a City* (Milwaukee, 1948), 425.
[21] Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago,* (3 vols., N. Y., 1957), III, 443-44.
[22] *Harper's Weekly,* February 10, 1877.
[23] *Ibid.,* January 13, 1877.
[24] *Ibid.,* February 10, 1877; Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 210-211.

the training school at Springfield, Massachusetts, and created and developed the General Secretaryship.[25]

In 1895 there were 1448 Y.M.C.A.'s in North America, most of them in the United States, with 315 buildings and 263,000 members. One thousand three hundred and eleven secretaries, including 220 physical directors, assisted with the varied programs, which inevitably were changing with the changing times. Likewise, Catholic Young Men's Associations (wholly under Catholic auspices) were established, Newark, New Jersey (1857) and New York (1871) having pioneer organizations.[26]

Similarly, the Y.W.C.A. had developed out of prayer and social groups for young women. The first of these had been founded in New York City in 1858, though the name Y.W.C.A. had first been employed in Boston in 1866.[27] In other cities the organization developed out of earlier efforts to meet the needs of young women. In Manchester, New Hampshire, the Franklin Street Congregational Church was on a thoroughfare traversed by mill operatives on their way to work. Women in the congregation readily assisted in making the parlors on the basement floor available to young woman operatives for winter evenings. Reading matter and games, with a trained worker, were provided. Eventually, the local Y.W.C.A. developed out of this venture.[28]

The Y.W.C.A. in Chicago began in 1876. Representatives of the various Protestant denominations helped develop its program, which sought to seek out newcomers in the city and assist them to find suitable boarding places and employment, to introduce them to the work of the Association, to encourage them in Sunday church attendance, and by every practical means to surround them with Christian associates.[29]

In Milwaukee, the Y.W.C.A. was founded in 1892 to aid girls

[25] *D.A.B.*, XI, 556-57.

[26] C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (N. Y., 1951), 409; "Catholic Young Men's Associations," *Catholic World,* XVIII (Nov. 1873), 273-74.

[27] Mary S. Sims, *The Natural History of a Social Institution: The Y.W.C.A.* (N. Y., 1936), 1-7.

[28] Tucker, *op. cit.*, 69-70.

[29] Pierce, *op. cit.*, III, 444-45.

who might be lured by the enticements of the notorious "River Street." Proper boarding houses were recommended, and recreation, companionship, and a social and cultural program were offered, in addition to classes in stenography, millinery, and physical education. In 1893, quarters were secured in the heart of the factory district on the South Side, and in 1896 a summer camp with reasonable vacation rates was established for working girls.[30]

Efforts were made everywhere in seeking to appeal to women of different economic status that the gulf might be bridged "that divides the favored from the less fortunate." This could be accomplished, it was believed, if members would "vitalize the teachings" of Christ that recognized those of diverse talents as "members one of another."[31]

Socially minded Protestants in the United States had a long record of concern for humanitarian causes. Merely typical of hundreds of long standing projects was that in Portland, Maine that provided a firewood fund for poor widows.[32] New programs were constantly being developed, involving contributions of time and money to temperance societies, the Y.M.C.A., city missions, and similar organizations.

In Cincinnati the undenominational Union Bethel Sunday School, on the Public Landing, served the underprivileged of the area. Supported by a large endowment, it celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1890. It was reported to be the largest Sunday School in the country, with 3600 regularly enrolled. Each summer a picnic was held at the Zoo, and at Christmas sixty boxes of oranges and 1500 pounds of candy were distributed.[33]

A few interdenominational missions which placed considerable emphasis on material needs were established. Among these were the North End Mission, Boston (1867) and the Water Street Mission, New York (1872). The latter became especially successful through the lively, direct, conversational evangelism

[30] Still, *op. cit.*, 425.
[31] Sims, *op. cit.*, 18.
[32] *D.A.B.*, XX, 309.
[33] Cincinnati *Times Star*, January 25, 1890.

of its founder, an ex-gambler and former convict, Jerry MacAuley.[34] In Chicago the Pacific Garden Mission, established (1877) by Colonel George R. Clarke, a Union Army veteran, ministered to the floating population of "Bum Boulevard." Here, after 1881 a kindergarten was also conducted.[35]

Well-established churches founded missions in developing residential districts of the expanding cities, but also in the crowded sections of the poor. Thus, in lower Manhattan, the Broome Street Tabernacle, Olivet Chapel, and the De Witt Memorial were among those carrying on a far-reaching program among the lowly.[36] Under Lyman Abbott's pastorate at Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, two decrepit missions, Bethel and Mayflower, were invigorated, as kindergartens, cooking and typing classes, and library facilities were maintained, in addition to the usual religious services.[37]

George W. Cable, the novelist, was a most conscientious Presbyterian, who, according to biographer, earnestly endeavored to see "that the Sermon on the Mount and the parable of the Good Samaritan be given actuality through practice." Accordingly, he served actively in the regular work of his church, but also supervised a mission school maintained by the Church for the economically unfortunate. In this situation his wife and he demonstrated in a variety of ways a spirit dedicated to the improvement of the lot of the poor and distressed people of the city.[38]

Earnest young men and women, Protestant and Catholic, carried the message of the churches to the farthest western frontiers of the nation, though by 1885 the heroic period of such efforts was all but over.[39] These endeavors, which cannot be recounted here, affected the daily life of hundreds of communi-

[34] Abell, *op. cit.*, 27, 35-37.
[35] Pierce, *op. cit.*, III, 442.
[36] Abell, *op. cit.*, 137-140.
[37] Ira V. Brown, *Lyman Abbott*, 120.
[38] Arlin Turner, "George W. Cable's Beginnings as a Reformer, "*The Journal of Southern History*, XVII (May 1951), 135-162.
[39] Samuel M. Cavert, *et alii*, eds., *The Church Through Half a Century* (N. Y., 1936), 267.

ties in the West.[40] Two decades had indeed wrought a marvelous transformation. Near the close of the Civil War, a Presbyterian missionary at Virginia City, Nevada, had noted that on Sundays "Bedlam was let loose," for business and sin were both going full sway. Next door to his preaching station was a gambling hall so his sermon had to compete with "much sounding brass and tinkling cymbals."[41] When, early in 1865, Mass was said in Helena, this was done in an unfinished and windowless log cabin with a dry goods box serving as an altar.[42] Yet, a quarter of a century later, every town and city had its churches, and even in mining communities, Sunday was often no longer a general market day and gamblers had encountered grave public disfavor.[43]

To extend the message of the churches, other Americans had braved dangers and hardships in many lands beyond the sea.[44] Among Mormons who had, in 1900, over two thousand missionaries in many parts of the world, this meant a great migration of numbers of such converts to the Mormon country of western America.[45]

At home, church leaders also endeavored to contribute personally to ministrations to the poor. Bishop Henry C. Potter of the Episcopal Church in New York City spent a month in the summer of 1895 at the Stanton Street Mission in the midst of the tough Tenth Ward.[46] A contemporary periodical commented that the attitude of the Bishop in attaining a personal knowl-

[40] The story is told in detail in Kenneth Latourette, *The Expansion of Christianity,* (7 vols., N. Y., 1937-45), IV (1941). Of a host of other useful volumes, see Colin Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939); Sister M. Aquinata Martin, *The Catholic Church on the Nebraska Frontier, 1854-1885* (Washington, 1937); Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States,* (3 vols., N. Y., 1938), III.

[41] Merrill Burlingame, *The Montana Frontier* (Helena, 1942), 305.

[42] Garraghan, *op. cit.,* III, 587-88.

[43] William W. Howard, "The Modern Leadville," *Harper's Weekly,* December 1, 1888.

[44] Latourette, *op. cit.,* V, VI.

[45] *Harper's Weekly,* June 23, 1900. See also, *e.g.,* M. Hamlin Cannon, "The English Mormons in America," *American Historical Review,* LVII (1952), 893 ff. and William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: the Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, 1957).

[46] Hodges, *H. C. Potter,* 280.

edge of social conditions was in the spirit of the man in the Scriptures who found his hundredth sheep which was lost in the wilderness.[47]

In Philadelphia, the Presbyterian Alliance was organized to stimulate the systematic evangelism of unchurched groups.[48] In Chicago, the Congregational City Missionary Society was especially active.[49] During the same period, Lutherans, Methodists, and Catholics, carried on mission work among immigrants, especially in New York City. What became the Lutheran Emigrants' House Association of New York had been established in 1873 to provide a Christian home for immigrants passing through the city. Religious services were held in a chapel. By 1888 the Missouri Synod Lutherans had in the same neighborhood a five-story building for similar purposes, and nearby were enterprises of the same type under the auspices of the Methodist, Reformed, and Episcopal churches.[50]

The Catholic Church was greatly handicapped in its efforts to serve incoming immigrants because of serious tensions between German and Irish Catholic leaders.[51] Yet, a German society, the *St. Raphaelsverein,* and an Irish Immigration Society labored among the immigrants, and by 1889 a Leo House, to aid German immigrants going through the port of New York, had been established. Here, during the twelve-year period, 1889-1901, more than three thousand immigrants were aided on an average each year.[52]

Before the Civil War, many Roman Catholic parishes had established orphanages, not primarily as charitable institutions, but as means of conserving the Catholic faith of children who might otherwise be placed in Protestant or secular institutions. After 1840, dioceses had taken an increasingly active part in this work, but many parishes continued to take the initiative in such development.[53] With the rapid increase in the number of

[47] *Harper's Weekly,* July 27, 1895.
[48] Abell, *op. cit.,* 37-46.
[49] Pierce, *op. cit.,* III, 441-2.
[50] George J. Manson in *Harper's Weekly,* August 4, 1888.
[51] Colman J. Barry, *The Catholic Church and German-Americans,* 44-57.
[52] *Ibid.,* 107-110.
[53] John O'Grady, *Catholic Charities in the U. S.: History and Problems* (Washington, 1931), 72-75.

Catholic dioceses after 1865, there was a corresponding growth in the number of Catholic Children's Homes. During the fifteen years from 1885 to 1900, approximately fifty new ones were established in various sections of the country.[54] Often Irish, German, Bohemian, Italian, and other immigrant groups took special responsibility for the founding of a local home for the orphan children of their ethnic stock.[55]

After the Civil War a few clerical members of the American Christian Commission had endeavored to enlarge the immediate functions and services of the local church, in addition to the efforts expended in other neighborhoods. Among these individuals, probably the "most resourceful and dramatic" was Rev. Thomas K. Beecher. Son of Lyman Beecher and a brother of Henry Ward Beecher, he had organized an Independent Congregational Church in Elmira, New York in 1854. The congregation, comprising many wage-earners, built in the 1870's a pioneer institutional church, with a large dining room, library, lecture rooms, pool and billiard facilities, dance hall, Children's Romp Room, gymnasium, and a stage with all the fittings of a theatre. Even free baths were offered. There were, of course, the usual Sunday School rooms and sanctuary.[56]

The most influential institutional church undoubtedly was St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City. The pastor from 1845 to 1878 had been Stephen H. Tyng, who was not only a "prince of platform orators," gifted with an ability to move his congregation "like a windswept sea," but a pioneer in the establishment of mission chapels among the poor of New York's East Side. He had secured the help of Christian professional men who gave medical, legal, and other services to the worthy poor. The onset of mental decline, provoked in part at least by overwork, necessitated his retirement in 1878.[57]

By this time St. George's Church was no longer the fashionable one which it had been a generation earlier, but a few wealthy members, including J. P. Morgan remained as loyal

[54] *Ibid.*, 150-151.
[55] *Ibid.*, 156 ff.
[56] Eastman, *op. cit.*, 110.
[57] *D.A.B.*, XIX, 101-2.

supporters. Soon, under a young and vigorous British-born rector, Rev. William S. Rainsford, a remarkable institutional ministry was begun. Outside the main entrance a sign beckoned, "Come in, rest, and pray." On Sundays the church was filled, and within two years Sunday School attendance grew from a few hundred to nearly 1400. The church, moreover, was open all day every day in the week for a multitude of activities.[58] Soon a $200,000 parish house was erected. By 1899 the church membership had grown from less than 200 to over 4000, one-third of them German-born. Such democratic implementation of religious principles caused some people like Admiral Alfred T. Mahan to leave the congregation. Morgan had his own troubled moments but in general gave devoted backing to Rainsford.[59]

In the same city the socially-minded Henry C. Potter preached for some years, before becoming a bishop, to his fashionable Grace Episcopal congregation on the duties of Christian citizenship in relation to slums and tenements. Numerous parish organizations were created for practical Christian service, and in the parish new buildings, including Grace Chapel and Grace House, were erected to serve the expanding needs.[60]

Likewise, the socially prominent St. Bartholomew's Episcopal congregation in mid-Manhattan, under the leadership of Rev. David H. Greer, embarked on an extensive program. The Vanderbilt family contributed generously to make possible a parish house which was then (1891) "the most elaborate of its kind in the world." Religiously aid was offered in a special way to Oriental peoples, with an emphasis on those from the Near East. An excellent medical and surgical clinic, an employment bureau, and a loan service were set up.[61] For the loan bureau, $25,000 was raised as a help to the deserving poor. In 1894, loans were made in nine months to 768 different families of many nationalities and religious beliefs.[62] Congregationalists also had important institutional churches. In 1877 Plymouth

[58] *Harper's Weekly*, May 2, 1885.
[59] W. S. Rainsford, *Notes on A Varied Life*.
[60] *D.A.B.*, XV, 127-129.
[61] Abell, *op. cit.*, 150-1.
[62] *Harper's Weekly*, November 10, 1894.

Church, Indianapolis, under a new pastor, Rev. Oscar C. McCulloch, embarked on a new program which led to the abandonment of theological tenets and an emphasis on social service, with a kind of people's college, Plymouth Institute, being established in 1884.[63] Fourth Church of Hartford, Connecticut; Berkeley Temple, Boston; Jersey City Tabernacle; Plymouth Church, Milwaukee, all were important Congregational institutional churches.[64]

Bethany Presbyterian Temple, Philadelphia maintained a varied and extensive ministry.[65] In New York City, the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, under the ministry of Rev. Charles L. Thompson, developed a program which eventually made it one of the notable Protestant churches of the United States.[66]

In Philadelphia, Grace Baptist Church, under the leadership of Rev. Russell H. Conwell, noted author of a much-publicized lecture, "Acres of Diamonds," erected the Baptist Temple in 1890. This became for a time the largest Protestant congregation in the United States, with hundreds of paid and volunteer workers to serve all age groups. Out of part of its program, Temple University developed.

In lower Manhattan, Judson Memorial Baptist Church maintained a fruitful ministry, manifesting "organized kindness" in a variety of ways. Rev. Edward Judson, a son of the well-known missionary to Burma, Adoniram Judson, left the pastorate of a wealthy Orange, New Jersey congregation to accept a call (1881) to the Berean Baptist Church, out of which developed the Judson Memorial (1890). Here he labored for thirty-three years at great personal sacrifice, which included the refusal of several attractive professorships.[67]

In Toledo, Ohio, in the early 1880's, when St. Paul's Methodist Church moved to a new location, it became the first institutional church in the city, and it offered a gymnasium and

[63] *D.A.B.*, XII, 8.
[64] Abell, *op. cit.*, 151 ff.; Still, *op. cit.*, 424.
[65] Herbert A. Gibbons, *John Wanamaker*, (2 vols., N. Y., 1926), *passim*.
[66] Abell, *op. cit.*, 155-56.
[67] Abell, *op. cit.*, 157-8.

other recreational facilities.[68] Later, Central Methodist Church in New York City enlarged its program and became Metropolitan Temple under a young British preacher, Rev. S. Parkes Cadman (later a Congregationalist). Old Wesley Chapel in downtown Cincinnati after 1891 earnestly sought to expand its services to the community.[69]

There were similar examples among other groups such as Unitarians and Universalists. By 1899, it was reliably reported that there were 173 institutional churches (not including missions) with well-rounded social programs in the United States.[70]

In time of need, when relief agencies were often woefully inadequate, churches, synagogues and other religious organizations often endeavored to meet the critical situations. During the Panic of 1873 some Y.M.C.A. organizations as well as churches maintained soup kitchens.[71] During the bitter depression of 1893-4, free tickets for bread and meat were distributed to the poor at Judd Street Jewish Synagogue, Chicago. As many as 22,000 were taken care of in a single day, and the plight of many individuals was indicated by the ravenous way in which they consumed the allotted food.[72]

Many were concerned that such activities should be soundly based, and this tendency was well illustrated in 1900 when Dr. Edward Everett Hale's South Congregational Church (Unitarian) in Boston called as Associate Pastor, Professor Edward Cummings of Harvard. Not a minister in the recognized sense, he was a student of social problems and a promoter of appropriate reforms.[73]

The Salvation Army met a further need in the development of social and religious services in underprivileged areas. After its origin in England in 1878, military techniques were perfected, and it was introduced in Philadelphia as early as 1879-80. In the next year New York was visited by George S. Railton

[68] Rev. Gordon E. Riegler, "The Story of Religion in Toledo," *N. W. Ohio Quarterly,* XXVI, 96.
[69] Abell, *op. cit.,* 158-9.
[70] *Ibid.,* 159-164.
[71] Robert Bremner, *From the Depths* (New York, 1956), 41-2.
[72] *Harper's Weekly,* September 23, 1893.
[73] *Ibid.,* September 15, 1900.

with seven "Hallelujah Lasses," and he helped organize twelve corps in various cities. His recall to England, however, led to a five-year period of dissension which ended with the coming to America (1886) of Ballington Booth (and his wife) and F. L. Booth-Tucker, son and son-in-law of the founder. Numerous converts were secured, and they were encouraged to join the churches which in turn gave support to the Army. The legal right to hold outdoor services was obtained, and slum brigades were organized to visit the poor and extend relief, to hold religious services in halls and saloons, and to develop sentiment against vice.[74] After a time, in San Francisco, for example, a Chinese branch was in operation with a Chinese man and woman engaged in the work. In this case Chinese converts carried torches in their street processions.[75]

By the close of the century, the Salvation Army had, on the west side of the Atlantic, seven hundred corps and were holding eleven thousand meetings weekly with an attendance of over two million persons. Somewhat earlier (1896), however, Ballington Booth and his wife had broken with the organization to form the Volunteers of America which was patterned after the older movement but which introduced a patriotic aspect and established a connection between each local post and a church in the vicinity.[76]

In cities of large population, for weeks before Christmas iron kettles to receive funds to feed the hungry on Christmas were marked by signs, "Keep the pot boiling." In New York in 1899, on Christmas, 3200 baskets, each with a dinner for five, were distributed and late in the afternoon, about five thousand persons were served dinner in Madison Square Garden.[77]

Those receiving Christmas baskets from the Salvation Army were carefully investigated as to worthiness, but some other efforts at Christmas charity seemed ill advised and lacking in personal sympathy and insight into basic needs. Rev. William S. Rainsford, rector of St. George's Episcopal Church, New York,

[74] Abell, *op. cit.*, 118-26.
[75] *Harper's Weekly*, April 11, 1896.
[76] Abell, *op. cit.*, 135-6.
[77] *Harper's Weekly*, January 6, 1900.

wrote in 1891 that there was much emotionalism and mistaken effort at the holiday season. Christmas meant, he said, that "Poor children will be at a premium, and with many good things and more bad things, they will be stuffed and crammed. A veritable Christmas orgy will be upon us, in which a premium is really paid to childish gluttony and untruth."[78] Such were some of the difficulties of manifesting the Christmas spirit in a world permeated with much that was alien to that spirit.

[78] Rainsford, "The Rich and the Poor," *ibid.*, December 26, 1891.

CHAPTER XI

The Outreach of Benevolence

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JUST as economists with Christian motivation were active in facing problems relating to industry and labor, sociologists endeavored to combine the insights of religious faith with a knowledge of sociological principles. Apparently the first separate department of sociology in an institution of higher learning in the United States was established at the Congregational Church's Chicago Theological Seminary in 1890. The program was much strengthened by the appointment in 1892 of Graham Taylor as professor of Christian Sociology. He had earned a deservedly excellent reputation as a faculty member at Hartford Theological Seminary and pastor of the well-known institutional church, Fourth Congregational of Hartford. He came to Chicago filled with a driving zeal "to study, teach and exemplify" the principles of Christianity in the common life.[1]

At the same time (1892) the Baptist Theological Seminary was merged with the University of Chicago. An outstanding leader here was Albion W. Small, son of a Baptist minister and himself a graduate of Newton Theological Seminary. He founded and directed the first large University department of sociology (at the University of Chicago), wrote a number of texts, and established and edited the first important journal of sociology. Long a trustee and deacon of Hyde Park Baptist Church, Chicago, he was a loyal supporter of the institutional life of the church.[2]

To work in a field where institutional churches, missions, and the Salvation Army did not fully serve the needs, neighborhood

[1] Bessie L. Pierce, *History of Chicago,* 3 vols., III, (New York, 1957), 455.
[2] Charles H. Page, *Class and American Sociology: From Ward to Ross* (N. Y., 1940), 113-114.

houses were established. The founders were usually people of vital religious background, who sought to improve ways of living by being neighbors to the poor in crowded areas. The Neighborhood Guild was founded in New York in the 1880's by Dr. Stanton Coit who had studied at the University of Berlin, had lived at the Toynbee Hall settlement house in London, and had become a leader in the New York Society for Ethical Culture.[3]

In Chicago, Jane Addams in 1889 had established Hull House, Chicago's first social settlement, in an old residence in the midst of a saloon-ridden ward of large immigrant population.[4] Ellen G. Starr, Julia Lathrop, and Florence Kelley were able associates in the undertaking during the following years.

Jane Addams, after much soul-searching, at twenty-five had joined the Presbyterian Church at Cedarville, Illinois, for she longed for "an outward symbol of fellowship, some bond of peace, some blessed spot where unity of spirit might claim right of way over all differences." Later, apparently for convenience, she transferred her membership to a struggling Congregational Church near Hull House.[5] Her contacts with life made denominationalism seem very unimportant. Yet, she declared that leaders in social settlement work in America were motivated by "the spirit of Christ," a force which, she said, "must be evoked and must be called into play before the success of any Settlement is assured."[6]

At about the same time, Vida Scudder, a daughter of Congregational missionaries in India and one who was to have a long career as Professor of English at Wellesley College, became vitally interested in practical Christian social work. Following the death of her father, her mother and she had joined the Episcopal Church, and she became an earnestly devout member of that church. In 1889 she opened the Rivington Street House Settlement, New York City, run by college women, and

[3] *Harper's Weekly,* July 8, 1893.

[4] Jane Addams, "Hull House, Chicago: An Effort Toward Social Democracy," *The Forum,* XIV (October, 1892), 226-242.

[5] James W. Linn, *Jane Addams* (N. Y., 1935), 80-81.

[6] Jane Addams, "A New Impulse to the Old Gospel," *The Forum,* XIV (November, 1892), 345-359.

soon was instrumental in the opening of other settlement houses, including Denison House, Boston (1892).[7]

Similarly, Lillian D. Wald had founded Henry Street Settlement in New York City in an area of tenements where Irish-Americans were being replaced by Italian immigrants and where synagogues, to meet the needs of orthodox Jews, were "everywhere imposing on shabby-looking buildings."[8] Miss Wald was of German-Jewish background and came from a family imbued "with a deep vein of Hebraic poetry and idealism." One important influence was "Uncle Samuel" who loved to recite aloud the Psalms of David.[9] At Henry House, her zeal to alleviate human suffering manifested itself in many ways and led to the development (1902) of the first non-sectarian public health nursing system in the world.

In the meantime, Robert A. Woods, born in a Scotch-Irish family in Pittsburgh, had taken theological work at Andover Seminary but had become increasingly concerned about social problems. He had resided for a time in Toynbee Hall, London, and had been deeply influenced by the founder of British settlement work, the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett.[10] Returning to the United States, Woods aided in the establishment of Andover House, Boston (renamed South End House in 1895).[11] This was the first settlement house in the Massachusetts city and the fifth in the country. Woods was intensely practical, and he performed a major service in seeking to resist the sentimental approach to social work in favor of one intellectually grounded.[12]

As Catholics found Protestant and Jewish humanitarians sponsoring settlement houses, they soon became aware that the establishments were "real educational and recreational centers" which might win children of Catholic background from the Catholic Church. Accordingly, they felt compelled to establish similar institutions "in order to hold their own children." The

[7] Arthur Mann, *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age* (Cambridge, 1954), 219-223, 227.

[8] Lillian D. Wald, *The House on Henry Street* (N. Y., 1915), 249 ff.

[9] R. L. Duffus, *Lillian Wald: Neighbor and Crusader* (N. Y., 1938), 1-15.

[10] For Barnett's strong religious motivation, see Henry B. Washburn, *The Religious Motive in Philanthropy* (Philadelphia, 1931), 29-61.

[11] Eleanor H. Woods, *Robert A. Woods* (Boston, 1929).

[12] *D.A.B.*, XX, 503-4.

Santa Maria Institute (1897) in Cincinnati and St. Rose's Settlement in New York City, both working among Italians, were pioneer ventures.[13]

One extremely difficult problem for those of humane impulses was the rehabilitation of the unmarried mother. Especially prominent in this work was Charles Nelson Crittenton who had attained financial independence in the drug business. Following the death of their four-year old daughter in 1882, Crittenton and his wife, who were Episcopalians, experienced a new birth of religious zeal. He became a "merchant evangelist," travelling on a special railroad car, "Good News," and taking an active part in rescue work for women. Although somewhat sentimental and perhaps smug, he left a permanent legacy to unfortunate women in the Florence Crittenton homes for unmarried mothers that were established in many cities.[14]

A somewhat broader program, the care and reclamation of delinquent girls, had been undertaken by the Catholic Sisters of the Good Shepherd as early as 1842 in Louisville. Before 1860, other Good Shepherd homes had been founded in Philadelphia, St. Louis, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. By 1900, twenty-two other convents of this type had been established. Emphasis has consistently been placed by them on religion (with frequent communion), work and education.[15]

The spirit of benevolence among church-going Americans expressed itself in almost every field of human need. With the rapid expansion of the orders of nuns in the country after the Civil War there was a corresponding expansion of Catholic hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, homes for incurables, and other philanthropic institutions. Protestant work along these lines also developed in a remarkable way.[16] In spite of a Protestant aversion to deaconesses, from 1885 to 1900 almost 150 well-equipped institutions were established, maintained by Lutheran, Episcopalian, and Methodist dea-

[13] O'Grady, *Catholic Charities,* 289-293.

[14] *D.A.B.,* IV, 550-51. Professor Abell in his excellent volume, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism,* erroneously gives the name as Crittenden.

[15] O'Grady, *Catholic Charities,* 164-167, 169-181.

[16] For a not untypical city, see account by Rev. Gordon A. Riegler, "The Story of Religion in Toledo, 1875-1900," *N. W. Ohio Quarterly,* XXV (1953), 229-30.

conesses.[17] Presbyterians by this time had established hospitals of notably exacting standards in cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. In many cities, moreover, there were excellent Jewish hospitals and other charitable undertakings.

In Cincinnati, Sister Anthony (Mary O'Connell), "the Florence Nightingale" of the Civil War in America, was enabled after the War to purchase the United States Marine Hospital through the generosity of two non-Catholics. Thus, an important hospital came under the direction of the Sisters of Charity.[18]

Before 1870, Catholic hospitals in the United States were almost entirely charitable institutions. Orders of nuns, however, came to be recognized for their fine spirit, selfless devotion and efficiency in hospital administration. Many communities, accordingly, sought their services in the establishment of hospitals. The number under the supervision of Catholic sisterhoods, therefore, increased rapidly.[19] A noteworthy instance of the founding of a hospital directed by Catholic nuns at the request of a non-Catholic, was St. Mary's Hospital, Rochester, Minnesota. Established at the initiative of Dr. William W. Mayo, it has been under the direction of the Franciscan Sisters.[20]

Immigrant groups of religious background were active in various charitable endeavors. By 1896, Swedish Lutherans had a hospital in Chicago, as did the Swedish Mission Friends, and other western cities, including St. Paul and Omaha, had similar Swedish institutions.[21] After 1870, orders of nuns from Germany established numerous Catholic hospitals in many cities, some of the sisters being driven from their homeland by Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*.[22] The Italian Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart began similar hospital work, founding Columbus Hospital, New York City, in 1892.[23]

Beginning in 1874, the Protestant Episcopal churches in New York City took up a special collection for hospitals on the last

[17] Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism*, 194-203.
[18] James H. and Mary J. Rodabaugh, *Nursing in Ohio: A History* (Columbus, 1951), 48.
[19] O'Grady, *op. cit.*, 204 ff.
[20] *Ibid.*, 199.
[21] *Harper's Weekly*, April 29, 1896.
[22] O'Grady, *Catholic Charities*, 200.
[23] *Ibid.*

Sunday of the year, and later the Presbyterians and Jews did similarly. In 1890 this provided funds for 10,500 free-bed patients and 130,000 free dispensary patients.[24]

In New York a wealthy merchant and Presbyterian layman, Edwin D. Morgan, gave generously to the Presbyterian Hospital and to the Woman's Hospital.[25] A prominent banker and Methodist layman in New York, George I. Seney, gave $410,000 which made possible the opening of the Methodist General Hospital in Brooklyn in 1887.[26] Michael Cudahy, Irish-born meat packer and a loyal Catholic, gave similarly to Catholic institutions in the Middle West.[27] Such examples are taken almost at random from hundreds of instances concerning almost every large city in the country.

Various methods were used by church organizations to finance the maintenance of orphanages. In Cincinnati, 1890 the St. Aloysius Orphanage was conducted by a committee made up of members from each of the twenty-nine Catholic Churches of the city and supported by annual memberships of individuals and annual collections in the churches. The German Protestant Orphan Asylum was supported in part by an annual fair attended by about 40,000 people. Incidentally, in the same city, to maintain the German Evangelical Protestant Hospital, annual memberships of $2 and honorary memberships of $25 were secured.

Such were some of the efforts of Church-Going America in bringing institutional care to those needful of it. Commenting on this, a national magazine noted in 1891 that one feature of modern life in America was the sympathy of the wealthy and cultured for the less fortunate. It observed, "It is undeniable that much of this is the direct effect of Christian culture and teaching."[28]

[24] *Harper's Weekly,* January 3, 1891.
[25] James A. Rawley, *Edwin D. Morgan* (N. Y., 1955), 265-267.
[26] *Harper's Weekly,* April 9, 1881, January 7, 1888.
[27] *D.A.B.,* IV, 584-85.
[28] *Harper's Weekly,* January 3, 1891. For a recent summary of Roman Catholic projects in the United States, 1865-1885, see Aaron I. Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action, 1865-1900,* 27-54.

PART 5

†

Conclusion

CHAPTER XII

The Fruits of the Spirit

†

FAITH, Hope and Charity were the rich fruits of the active life of the churches during the last generation of the nineteenth century. Imperfect as was "the witness" of the Church in these respects, it was, nevertheless, a bulwark of the Republic and a source of strength to millions of Americans.

Faith, the first of these fruits, found expression, and, in turn was strengthened as each Sunday millions of churchgoers sang with fervor time-honored hymns such as one which had been used in America for more than a hundred and fifty years:

> Our God, our help in ages past,
> Our hope for years to come,
> Our shelter from the stormy blast,
> And our eternal home.[1]

Intellectually, the faith of the churches had, indeed been severely tried by the development of the scientific method, the rise of evolutionary concepts, the spread of critical Biblical scholarship, and other challenges to an unquestioning, simple faith. The tensions were partly due to the frequent acceptance of doctrinaire views of science that espoused a rather dogmatic materialism, and these had sometimes been met head on by religious traditionalists who refused to concede the obvious conclusions of honest humanistic and scientific scholarship. As a result, some scientific men often made absurd claims that religion had been outmoded for thoughtful persons who honored truth, and religious leaders not uncommonly defended views which were thoroughly obscurantist. Yet, by 1900 adjustments had been made in the intellectual life of those churches which were attended by men and women of alert

[1] By Isaac Watts (1719).

minds. To some extent, faith was less strident, and even, at times, less confident, but probably there was a compensatory gain in humility and teachableness.

Millions of Americans were, of course, immediately unaffected by the intellectual crises of faith and lived on, as people have done in every generation, in a childlike trust in the "Old Time Religion." Others, cognizant of problems presented by new knowledge, insisted that, if the world was a rational one, there was basic truth in the "Faith of Our Fathers, Living Still," and that time would iron out any seeming discrepancies between faith and science. For the sophisticated, some of the simple answers of traditional religion were no longer satisfying, but for many of them the whole story of religion had been associated with the unfolding of new knowledge and the dawning of new insights. It was, moreover, widely recognized that the post-Civil War generation had been compelled to make unusual ideological adjustments.

In a highly intellectual environment, President Charles W. Eliot held views which were deemed ultraliberal in some circles, but he was regular in attendance at the services of worship and communion of the Church in which he had been reared (the Unitarian), and, as we have seen, came to express his personal faith in "a loving God," dear to the hearts of His creatures.[2]

The renowned Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes had sought to write an epitaph for some of the more conservative theological views of his day in his "The Wonderful One Hoss Shay," but he found need for cultivating the "plant called reverence" in his heart by regular attendance at weekly worship services. He expressed, moreover, his individual faith in a loving God, revealed "infallibly in creation," in nature, and in Jesus, with religion consisting "in holy affections the evidence of which is in the righteous life."[3]

[2] Francis G. Peabody, *Reminiscences of Present-Day Saints* (Boston, 1927), 302. For the influence of John Fiske, see Weisenburger, *Ordeal of Faith*, 71-75.

[3] Harry H. Clark in *N. E. Quarterly*, XII (March 1939), 28-39 and note. Long an important mediator in the tensions between doctrine and charity was Francis A. Christie, a conservative Unitarian, a leading authority on church history, and a widely beloved individual. From 1893 until his death in 1938

Edward Orton, first President of the Ohio State University, was a geologist of note who personally had experienced a travail of belief in adjusting himself to the new scientific knowledge. Yet, he had come to believe that the new vistas of faith were grander than the old, for there had passed away a narrow literalism of the Creation story, along with ideas of an arbitrary and wrathful God, and concepts of witches and insanity due to evil spirits. In their place were new ideas of the dependability of law in the world of nature and mind, a new sense of God as a Presence here and now in the world, and more rational and inspiring views of the Holy Scriptures. Above all, there was a confidence in "the final and all-comprehending law of reason and righteousness which was laid down by Jesus of Nazareth."[4]

In more orthodox religious fellowships were to be found not only millions of humble people but spokesmen like Henry Van Dyke, poet, preacher, essayist and professor of literature, and, after the turn of the century Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, North. He was a liberal interpreter, in his *Gospel For An Age of Doubt* (1896), of the strength without the uncompromising severity of Calvinism so that one who later became a leading University President (W. H. P. Faunce) declared that he presented orthodoxy "so generously, winsomely and tenderly" that one did not note its sharpness.[5]

Similarly, Woodrow Wilson, long a professor at Princeton, and soon to be the first lay President of that University, could jest about the theological niceties of his own Church (the Presbyterian), but his basic faith was to him "a shield and a buckler." As a graduate student at John Hopkins he had written privately, "God's word and His works cannot be antagonistic," at a time when he had little patience with the ultraconservatives in the evolutionary controversy.[6] To him life without religious

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he was associated with Meadville Theological Seminary and was a leading contributor to the *American Historical Review*. See *American Historical Review*, XL, 478 (January 1939).

[4] Orton, *The Method of Science and Its Influence Upon the Branches of Knowledge Pertaining to Man* (Columbus, Ohio, 1898), 26-30.

[5] *American Journal of Theology*, I (April 1897), 522-524.

[6] Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Youth* (Garden City, N. Y., 1927), 33-34, 209-10.

faith was like "a furnace without a fire,—a pursuit without a goal—a measurement without standard."[7] His daughter, Eleanor W. McAdoo later asserted that he had never felt the need for proving God's existence and that "his faith was a dominant, living factor in his life and never failed him to the very end."[8]

For practically all Southerners of course the Christian knight *par excellence* was the Episcopal vestryman, General Robert E. Lee. All who knew him deemed him essentially a perfect combination of the sincere Christian and the true gentleman. Kindness and a high sense of duty permeated every aspect of his life, and he faced life's vicissitudes with serenity in the perfect confidence that inevitably God's will must work out for man's good.[9]

For Roman Catholics, an acceptance of dogmatic authority meant often an unquestioning faith. For those for whom persisting doubts were real indeed, a popular, persuasive exposition of Catholic doctrine, *Faith of Our Fathers* (1876) not infrequently renewed their confidence in the teachings of their Church.[10]

Other examples of the persistence of a steadfast faith in the lives of countless others among both the great and the humble could be given. But, we pass on to the second of the fruits of Church-going America, *Hope*. In its theological implications, it was closely related to faith, as it held forth promises of the ultimate triumph of goodness and of Life over Death. Yet, on the more mundane level, much of that power which sustained the spirit of hope in the minds and hearts of weary, frustrated, and saddened church goers was derived from the fellowship of the Church. A commonly used Protestant hymn of the period included the stanzas:

> How sweet, how heavenly is the sight
> When those that love the Lord
> In one another's peace delight,
> And so fulfill His word.

[7] Ray Stannard Baker, *Wilson: Youth*, 67-68.
[8] Eleanor W. McAdoo, *The Woodrow Wilsons* (N. Y., 1936), 41-42.
[9] Douglas S. Freeman, *Robert E. Lee*, (4 vols., N. Y., 1935), IX, 501-5.
[10] Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 582 ff.

When each can feel his brother's sigh,
And with him bear a part,
When sorrow flows from eye to eye.
And joy from heart to heart.[11]

During this period a Catholic Mother Superior, as we have seen, might stress the need for faith cultivated by frequent Holy Communion and attendance at daily Mass, but she would also advise her nuns that those among them who made many novenas and said many prayers were not necessarily the real "children of Mary," but rather those who did the will of God in daily life. Similarly, she might urge that children in the schools should be taught that their *principal* devotion ought to be the "perfect fulfillment of their daily duties" to their fellow man rather than the decoration of statues, the chanting of hymns, or the repetition of long prayers.[12]

Illustrations previously presented in this volume need not be repeated or amplified, as church organizations at their best were, in a sense, "colonies of heaven" in the sharing of mutual woes and the bearing of common burdens. Not only a hope in the "Eternal Goodness" but hope sustained by the kindnesses of one's fellows often made life bearable for troubled youth, for the lonely and care worn men and women of mature years, and for the ailing and aged, for whom the vital inspiration of more buoyant years had passed.

In an age of intellectual perplexities, the assembling of congregations of people of serious purpose and moral aspirations often brought a reward of its own. Thus, many were convinced that, as Rutherford B. Hayes advised his son, where the habit of churchgoing "does not Christianize, it generally civilizes." Such, to Hayes, was "reason enough for supporting the churches, if there were no higher" reason.[13]

The third fruit of the lives of religiously activated individuals, *Charity,* has already been illustrated in this volume in the

[11] By Rev. Joseph Swain (1792).

[12] Sister Helen Louise (Nugent), *Sister Louise, (1813-1886)* (Washington, 1931), 281.

[13] To Webb C. Hayes, March 1, 1875 in Chas. R. Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of R. B. Hayes,* III, 267.

account of the Christian service performed by a host of individuals in a wide variety of ways. The aspirations of church-minded folk had been expressed for generations in the old hymn:

> So let our lips and lives express
> The holy gospel we profess;
> So let our works and virtues shine,
> To prove the doctrine all divine.
> Our flesh and sense must be denied,
> Passion and envy, lust and pride;
> While justice, temperance, truth, and love,
> Our inward piety approve.[14]

Although Emerson and the Transcendentalists, among others, had emphasized the goodness and even the perfectability of man, Church-Going America generally had more realistic views of the strength which had to be cultivated, if "passion and envy, lust and pride" were to be denied in favor of more altruistic impulses. A noted historian, indeed, tells us that in pioneer days the church membership generally constituted but a small proportion of the people in a given community but had "set the moral standards and patterns of conduct" and were highly important "in maintaining decency and order."[15] He maintains further that all of the self-reliance and vigor of the pioneer "would have gone for naught had there not been planted in far flung communities of the west the seeds of moral, spiritual and cultural life . . . the uplifting influence of the Christian gospel."[16]

Christian charity was indeed impotent without an ungirding basis in morality and justice. Even the disillusioned Henry Adams declared, as we have seen, that without the Church the world would have been as undisciplined as a band of Apaches. A sophisticated historian, Ferdinand Schevill, suggests that the moral debacle of the period of the Grant Administration was due in part to the fact that Puritanism with "the severe moral code imposed on its followers in their relations with one an-

[14] By Isaac Watts (1709).

[15] William W. Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture* (N. Y., 1952), 145-46.

[16] *Ibid.*, 137-38.

other" had lost its hold on a more easy-going American society. He believes further that, for a time, especially among those of New England upbringing, "the norms of social behavior long remained unaffected, thereby imposing the retention of the strict honesty and lofty probity that had for generations past ruled private and public relations alike."[17]

Here, indeed was a basic challenge to church-going America in the late nineteenth century—the maintenance of standards of honesty, probity, and charity amidst the passing of the rigid severity of the Puritan tradition. The present volume has presented illustrations of many, in almost every walk of life, who devoted themselves zealously to the accomplishment of that task.

A long time professor of philosophy at Harvard later paid tribute to the way in which his wife, Alice Freeman Palmer, for many years President of Wellesley College, contributed to that end. Commenting on her girlhood affiliation with the Presbyterian Church in her home town in New York state in 1868, he said:

> Always devout, she now consecrated herself, and for the rest of her life the desire for the utmost service of God's children seems to inspire every private impulse.[18]

Similarly, Ellen Axson, who became Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, as a young art student in New York, felt impelled to do some service among the poor of the Spring Street area.[19]

The name certainly was legion of those who like the religiously motivated Jacob Riis, journalist and social worker, struggled tirelessly to improve the way in which the "Other Half Lives."[20]

Numbers of well-intentioned people who recognized the substantial service rendered to all varieties of human kind by the churches were deterred by intellectual and moral problems of faith. Amos Kendall, long before one of the members of

[17] Schevill, *Six Historians* (Chicago, 1956), 165-166.
[18] George H. Palmer, *The Life of Alice Freeman Palmer* (Boston, 1908), 38-39.
[19] Baker, *Wilson: Youth*, 240.
[20] Riis, *The Making of An American* (N. Y., 1901), 85-86.

Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet and for several decades a resident of Washington, personally faced this problem. In 1862, he had written:

> . . . Your creeds require men to believe altogether too much, and make religion to consist more in *professions of faith* than in the active performance of Christian duties.[21]

Yet, he found his own answer, as he came to feel that his position outside the Church "was in effect a standing argument against Christianity." Accordingly, in 1865 he became a member of Calvary Baptist Church in the capital city. There, he found abundant opportunities for his abilities, as he served the church as chairman of the building committee for a new edifice, personally advanced $100,000 toward its construction, and for years taught a Sunday School class, devoting six to twelve hours to the careful preparation of each lesson.[22] Thus, in his own life he endeavored to exemplify the teaching that, "By their fruits ye shall know them."

[21] *Autobiography of Amos Kendall,* ed. by William Stickney (Boston, 1872), 654-56.

[22] *Ibid.,* 658-665.

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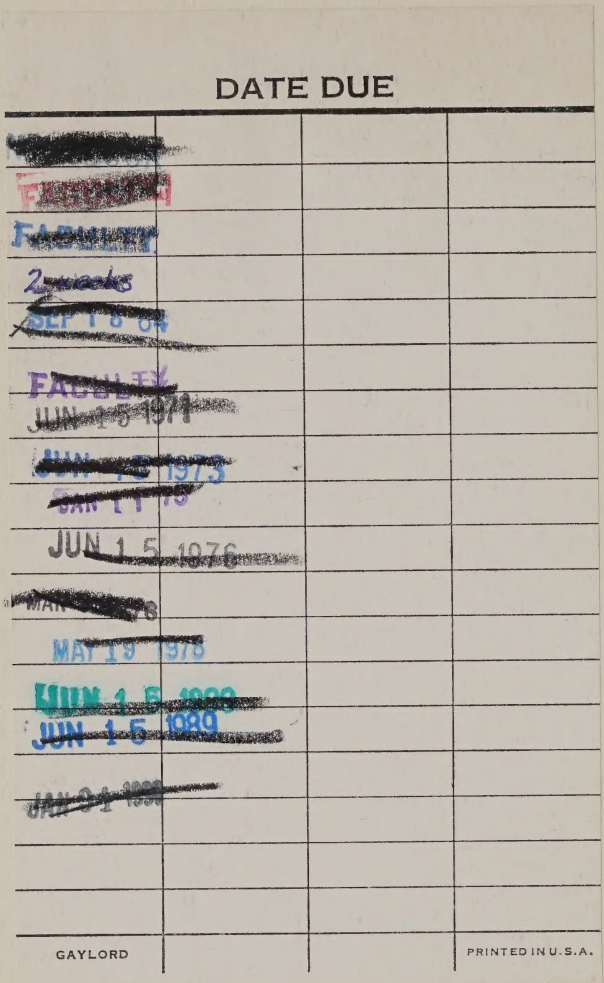
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